PRICE 15c

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

1939 No. 3

CAPITALISM ON THE ROAD TO DOOM
E. VARGA

THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND FASCIST WAR INDUSTRY
PETER WIEDEN

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
Articles by K. GOTTWALD, E. YAROSLAVSKY, K. KABAKCHIEFF

CHANGES IN THE RULES OF THE C.P.S.U.
A. ZHDANOV

CHAMBERLAIN'S "LABOR" FRIENDS
J. R. CAMPBELL

THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

A BOOK OF WORLD IMPORTANCE!

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Prepared under the supervision of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U.

"The study of the heroic history of the Bolshevik Party arms us with the knowledge of the laws of social development and political struggle, with the knowledge of the driving forces of the revolution.

"The study of the history of the C.P.S.U. strengthens our confidence in the final victory of the great cause of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the victory of Communism throughout the entire world."

From Introduction to **History of the C.P.S.U.**

"WITH THIS BOOK WE WILL RAISE UP A WHOLE GENERATION SCHOOLED IN THE BEST THOUGHT PRODUCED BY HUMANITY."

Earl Browder, **Theory as a Guide to Action**

384 Pages. Cloth $1.00

●

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York, N. Y.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY IN ENGLISH, RUSSIAN, GERMAN, FRENCH, CHINESE AND SPANISH

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

VOL. XVI MARCH, 1939 No. 3

CONTENTS

Editorials

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya 195
On the Twentieth Anniversary of the Communist International . . . . . K. GOTTWALD . . 198
The International Brigade 205
"Desperate Exports" 208
There Is Method in This Madness 210
"There Is Something Rotten in the State of Denmark" 213
Tom Mooney and the Fascist Head-Hunters 216

Theory and Practice of the Labor Movement

Lenin in the Struggle for the Communist International E. YAROSLAVSKY . . 219
Capitalism on the Road to Doom . . . . . E. VARGA . . . 231
The Third Five-Year Plan and the Fascist War Industry . . . . . PETER WIEDEN . . 237
Who Are the Friends of Chamberlain in the British Labor Movement? . . . . . J. R. CAMPBELL . . 249
Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Warfare . . . . . CHU TEH . . . 257
Recollections of the Second Congress of the Communist International . . . . . K. KABAKCHIEFF . 263

In the Soviet Union

Socialism Demands Labor Discipline . . . . A. CLAIRE . . . 266

Documents

Changes in the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) . . . . . A. ZHDANOV . . 274
Chronicle of Events 284

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC., P. O. BOX 148, STATION D, NEW YORK CITY
Subscription price: one year $1.75; six months 90 cents. Single copies 15 cents

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

NEW PAMPHLETS
ON
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union
By Joseph Stalin 05

The Economics of Communism: The Soviet Union in Its World Relation
By Earl Browder 05

Religion and Communism
By Earl Browder 02

Anti-Semitism, the Struggle for Democracy, and the Negro People
By James W. Ford 03

The $60 at 60 Pension Plan: Minimum Security for Our Senior Citizens 05

May Day 1939: For Labor Unity, For Social and National Security
By I. Amter 01

Ready Soon

Are We Aryans?
By Gino Bardi 05

How the Rich Live
By Nan and Ernest Pendrell 05

The Real Father Coughlin
By A. B. Magil 05

Communism and Culture
By Jacques Duclos 15

The 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (Bolsheviks)

D. Z. MANUILSKY, on the International Situation

V. M. MOLOTOV, on the Third Five-Year Plan of the U.S.S.R.

A. A. ZHANDOV, on the Growth of Soviet Democracy

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D New York, N. Y.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya

From the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. announce with heartfelt regret to the Party, the working class and all working people, that on February 27, at 6:15 in the morning, there died in Moscow, after an acute illness, one of the oldest Party members, most trusted helpmate of V. I. Lenin, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), and Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Comrade N. K. Krupskaya.

The death of Comrade Krupskaya, who devoted her entire life to the cause of communism, is a great loss for the Party and the working people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS)
COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE U.S.S.R.

* * *

THE death of N. K. Krupskaya, the seventy-year-old comrade-in-arms of the great Lenin, shook the Soviet Union. The great love of the people for the Party of Lenin and Stalin, and for the energetic yet unassuming woman who stood at Lenin's side, who fought and shared in that event in world history—the rise of the Bolsheviks from the prisons of the tsarist empire to the triumph of communism over a sixth of the earth—was manifested by spontaneous and moving mass demonstrations.

Millions poured onto the streets to take their farewell of the dead. From factory and home, office and collective farm, came the workers, the clerks, the peasants, the intellectuals, men and women, young and old. They stood quietly in the waiting line which grew longer and longer, filled street upon street—forty-eight hours long they remained unbroken. Millions paced in silent homage past her bier. Leading men and women of the nation kept watch over her. People brought flowers—cyclamen, mimosa, snowdrops, small bunches and large wreaths. Higher and highed piled the people's flowers around the bier of the dead Bolshevik. For two days and two nights the file of the leave-takers wound through the streets, an endless chain of life which links the nation with its Party, with the immortal figure of its great revolution.

On the night of March 1 the body was given to the flames. On March 2 the ashes in their urn were set in a niche in the Kremlin wall. On the tribune of the mausoleum stood Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Shvernik, Bulganin and Cherbakov. Speeches were made on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the government by Comrade Shvernik, on behalf of the working people of Moscow and the Moscow District by Comrade Cherbakov, and on behalf of the Soviet teachers by Comrade Leonova, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet.

To the strains of the *International* the crowds bid farewell to this Bolshevik

who, by the side of the greatest man of our epoch, had given her life to the glorious task of humanity, the achievement of communism.

* * *

FUNERAL ADDRESS OF COMRADE CHERBAKOV

COMRADES, the Communist Party and the working people of our country have suffered a great loss.

The old Bolshevik, closest friend and collaborator of the great Lenin, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, is no longer with us.

With deep sorrow the workers of Moscow, and the whole Soviet nation heard the sad tidings.

A wonderful life is ended! The heart of a burning revolutionary who devoted her whole strength, her whole energy, her every thought to the Party and the socialist revolution, has ceased to beat.

In these days of sorrow the stature of this great woman, this revolutionary and fighter, stands out before us the more clearly.

Fifty years ago Comrade Krupskaya began her revolutionary activity. It was in the 'nineties that she met Lenin in the Marxist study circles, and from that moment until her dying day she gave her undivided strength and energy to the interests of the Party, of the working class and the working people. She set a worthy example in the struggle for communism.

Since her meeting with Vladmir Ilyich Lenin in 1893, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was his closest friend and collaborator. Together with Lenin she experienced hard times—arrests, exile, emigration, and the persecutions of the tsarist Okhrana.

Under the most difficult circumstances of emigration she maintained contact with the revolutionary organizations of Russia, corresponded with comrades who were doing illegal work, arranged the transportation of Marxist literature to Russia.

Together with Lenin, Nadezhda Konstantinovna worked on the first Bolshevik newspaper, in the Party school where, under Lenin's leadership, cadres of professional revolutionaries were trained, and took part in the preparation and the work of the Party congresses and conferences.

After the great socialist October Revolution, Comrade Krupskaya began to work for the Party and the state. From the first days of the establishment of the People's Commissariat for Education she was a member of the faculty and later, Deputy People's Commissar. With untiring energy she worked for the universal education and the Communist training of the workers of the Soviet country.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna devoted a great deal of attention to the organizations for the work of political education. She turned her energies to the creation and extension of a network of libraries, clubs, reading rooms and lecture halls.

The Soviet people responded to these services of Comrade Krupskaya.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna was one of the greatest educators. She loved and had a remarkable understanding of children, and she busied herself wholeheartedly with their Communist education. Her whole life was devoted to our Party; in unison with the Party ran her life's course.

Towards the enemies of the working class and the Party Comrade Krupskaya was relentless. Nadezhda Konstantinovna had a deep hatred for the despicable enemies of the people, the Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies, the hirelings of the fascist secret service; against them she summoned the people to a merciless struggle.

Comrade Krupskaya's love for the people won her the hearts of the workers. It was to Nadezhda Konstantinovna that they turned for advice and help; they shared their pleasures with her and told her of their successes. She always found time to talk with people. From these ties with the people, from these simple, sincere conversations she drew fresh strength for her work.

This marvelous woman of our time, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, was at all

times an active fighter in the international labor movement, and one of the organizers of and participants in the fight for the emancipation of women all over the world.

Rich, indeed, in content and exemplary was the life of Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, true friend of Lenin, and old Bolshevik.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna worked tirelessly right up to the very last days of her life. One day before her death our Party and our country celebrated her seventieth birthday. The Central Committee of our Party, the government, friends, comrades, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, sent her their greetings. Everyone hoped that Nadezhda Konstantinovna would devote many more years of fruitful work to the good of the country of socialism, and that with them she would live to taste the ripe fruits of our nationhood. It was not to be. Death has carried off from the ranks of our Bolshevik family this active fighter for Communism.

In a few days the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will open. The Bolsheviks hoped to see Comrade Krupskaya among the delegates, and to be able, together with her, to prepare the great plan of the Third Five-Year Plan.

Death, pitiless, has extinguished a beautiful life.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna is gone from us forever, but her spirit, the symbol of an unselfish life eternally devoted to the cause of Lenin and Stalin, of a fighter for Communism, will live in the hearts of the workers.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

2. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighboring countries which have common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet state.

3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 17.

On the Twentieth Anniversary of the Communist International

BY K. GOTTWALD

TWENTY years ago, on March 4, 1919, the Communist International was founded. In March, 1919, there took place in Moscow the first congress of the Communist International, led by Lenin in person.

The foundation day of the Communist International is an *historic* date for the international working class, for the oppressed classes and peoples of all the world. In his article on "The Third International and Its Place in History," Lenin wrote, on April 15, 1919:

"The world-historic significance of the Third, Communist, International lies in that it has begun to put into practice Marx's greatest slogan, the slogan which sums up the century-old development of socialism and the working class movement, the slogan which is expressed by the term: dictatorship of the proletariat."*

Exactly so. The most outstanding feature of the foundation of the Communist International was that this new International placed before the international working class the problem of the conquest of power. And, not merely as a problem which has become *historically* ripe for solution, but also as a question whose solution, in many countries, is one of *political* ripeness and of which the possibility of a solution to the advantage of the working class has already been proved in one country—in Russia—by means of the victory of the great socialist October Revolution.

The Communist International not only set forth the *problem* of the conquest of power by the working class, but also pointed out the way leading to such conquest. Relying upon the experience of the Bolsheviks, with Lenin and Stalin at their head, it impressed upon the proletariat of all countries the necessity of finding ways and means of winning allies in the fight against the reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie. Such allies were, in their own countries, the great mass of the peasantry. They were the oppressed small nations, of which there were, and still are, many in Europe. And, finally, they were the subjugated peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies.

Arising out of the experiences of the three revolutions in Russia—1905, February, 1917, and October, 1917—the Communist International made it plain to the international working class that it was necessary to create organs of struggle and power in the form of Soviets, of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies—Soviets which were not appendages and servants of the bourgeois apparatus of power but organs which would fight for their own exclusive power.

At that time, following on the World War of 1914-1918, and after the great socialist October Revolution, a great revolutionary upsurge swept through the world. Particularly high waves of this tide swept Germany and Austria-Hungary, the countries which had been

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 31, International Publishers, New York.

defeated in the war. The Hohenzollerns and Habsburgs were driven from those countries; Austria-Hungary fell apart. The bourgeois state apparatus was profoundly disorganized and demoralized. The bourgeoisie shrank before the wrath of the tormented and hungry masses. Above all, it feared for its own power. And therefore it began to buy itself free, so to speak. In order not to lose everything, it made concessions to the working class, and promised yet further concessions for the future.

* * *

Within the working class movement, two different conceptions confronted each other.

The first conception—represented by the young but still inexperienced Communist Parties and groups—called upon the working class of the capitalist countries to follow the example of the Russian working class—not to be content with worthless concessions, but resolutely *to struggle for full power.*

The second conception—represented by the treacherous leaders of the Second International—alarmed the working class of the capitalist countries with the difficulties of the conquest of power; fooled the workers with the "prospects" of a *"painless transition to socialism without sacrifices"* on the basis of bourgeois democracy, and did not hesitate to suppress in blood those risings of the revolutionary workers which blazed up.

Today, after twenty years, it is clearer than ever which of these two conceptions, which of these two roads, was the right one.

The leading Section of the Communist International—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of the Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin and Stalin—is leading a great socialist country, is building socialism upon one-sixth of the earth's surface. Here, the dreams of generations are becoming reality. The exploitation of man by man has here been forever abolished. The means of production are held firmly in the grasp of the socialist community, and are being rapidly developed. The right to work, to education and to leisure is assured to everyone. The distinctions between town and country, between manual and mental labor, are disappearing. Here, also, has been solved the problem of the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of various peoples. In the Soviet Union there are no oppressing or oppressed nations. The new Constitution has ensured the broadest form of democracy.

And, upon this basis, has developed the unbreakable political and moral unity of the Soviet people. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his deeds"—this, the basis of a socialist society, has been achieved. And, to the extent to which the productive forces of the socialist community are developed, and to which the last vestiges of the capitalist viewpoint vanish from the consciousness of the people, the transition will take place to communism, whose basis is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is to begin on March 10, will constitute yet another milestone on the victorious path of the Soviet peoples towards that ideal of all humanity: the classless society.

The German Social-Democratic Party —which, after the World War, became the leading party of the Second International—promised the masses, as did other parties of the Second International, an "easier" method of transition to socialism. But today there reigns over Germany a regime, so barbaric and brutal, so cruel, as has rarely been known in the history of mankind—the regime of swastika-fascism.

Under this regime, the German people is subjected to unexampled oppression. Every vestige of the bourgeois-democratic rights they formerly enjoyed has been filched from the working class and other laboring sections of society; their finest representatives have been murdered, tortured, exiled or thrown into concentration camps. Hundreds of thousands of Jews have been systematically exterminated. Human dignity is daily being trampled in the mire. The whole

country is one vast barrack-yard. The masses have to toil and starve like galley-slaves for a huge gang of officials to live riotously and to make possible the frenzied arming for war. And, amid all this, the millions of the German people are living in constant terror of the day when one of their mad "Fuehrers" will drive them out onto the battlefields of Germany's "great wars."

Yes, one needs but compare, in this way, these two conceptions, in order to ascertain which has stood the test of history and which has failed. The basic conception of Lenin and Stalin, of the Bolsheviks, of the Communist International, when it gained the decisive majority of the working class, led to the victory of socialism. The conception of Noske and Scheidemann, of Social-Democracy, of the Second International, when it dragged the majority of the working class in its wake, led to the salvation of the bourgeoisie, and finally cleared the way for fascism, that most barbaric and cruel form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

* * *

It is particularly necessary these days to draw this historical comparison. *For the international working class is today once again standing at a crossroad.* And its fate, for years to come, and the fate of all humanity, depends once more upon which road in its majority it shall choose. Fascism, after having subjugated and enslaved its own peoples, has entered the international arena. It has formed a war-alliance of the most aggressive fascist and militaristic states, the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo "triangle." These three—the most aggressive of the robbers—have joined together and are setting out jointly to redivide the world. In actual fact, the second imperialist war has begun. In this connection, it is stated as follows in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*:

"States and nations have, almost imperceptibly, slipped into the orbit of a second imperialist war. It was the three aggressor states, the fascist ruling circles of Germany, Italy and Japan, that began the war in various part of the world. It is being waged over a huge expanse of territory, stretching from Gibraltar to Shanghai. It has already drawn over five hundred million people into its orbit. In the final analysis, it is being waged against the capitalist interests of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A., since its object is a redivision of the world and of the spheres of influence in favor of the aggressor countries and at the expense of the so-called democratic states."

This aggressive campaign of the fascist states for a redivision of the world is linked up with *the establishment of a brutal, reactionary fascist domination over the conquered peoples and "spheres of influence."* We may note that as soon as a people, by one means or the other, comes under the dominion of the fascist robber powers, it loses not only its national independence and freedom, but also what democratic rights it may have retained.

Such is the case, for instance, in the Spain occupied by Italian and German troops. So is it in the case of those areas of China which have come under the control of Japanese soldiery. And so is it also in the case with small countries—such as Hungary—which have become "allies" of Hitler.

Furthermore, the sheer existence and, of course, even more so the foreign claims of the fascist aggressors encourage the native reactionaries in every capitalist country, stimulating them to new attacks upon the working people in their own country. In this way, the fascist aggressive powers *play the part of gendarmes for international reaction against the international working class* and against all forces of progress, as once did the Holy Alliance and Russian tsarism.

This is very closely shown in the so-called "Munich policy." In Munich an agreement was made between the governments of the fascist states, Germany and Italy, and those of the so-called democratic states, Great Britain and

France, by means of which Czechoslovakia was dismembered for Hitler's benefit, and a heavy blow dealt to the cause of the international working class and of democracy.

For the ruling reactionary circles in Great Britain, and their accomplices in France, did not desire to let things go so far as to bring about a test of strength, which, in all probability, would have resulted in Hitler coming off worst, which would have lead to his domination being very seriously shaken, if not entirely imperiled. But it was just this which the British reactionaries wished to avoid because they needed Hitler as a gendarme against the working class of the whole world.

We are now experiencing the preparatory period for, or rather the actual introduction of, a new Munich—this time directed against the heroic and much tried Spanish people. With unparalleled shamelessness, the British and French reactionaries are hastening to crown their betrayal, to insinuate themselves into the good graces of Franco, that puppet of Mussolini and Hitler, and to force the Spanish republic to surrender by dint of threats partaking of the character of an ultimatum.

The Bolsheviks also foresaw this particular stage in the policy of British reaction; and, in the *Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, they draw a historical parallel and address to reaction the following prophetic words:

"For this reason the ruling circles of the 'democratic' states, especially the ruling Conservative circles of Great Britain, confine themselves to a policy of pleading with the overweening fascist rulers 'not to go to extremes,' at the same time giving them to understand that they 'fully comprehend' and on the whole sympathize with their reactionary police policy towards the working class movement and the national emancipation movement. In this respect the ruling circles of Britain are roughly pursuing the same policy as was pursued under tsardom by the Russian liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie, who, while fearing the 'excesses' of tsarist policy, feared the people even more, and therefore resorted to a policy of pleading with the tsar and, consequently, of *conspiring* with the tsar against the people. As we know, the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie of Russia paid dearly for this dual policy. It may be presumed that history will exact retribution also from the ruling circles of Britain, and of their friends in France and the U.S.A." (p. 334.)

* * *

As we have already remarked, under these present circumstances the international working class is once more at the crossroads. And once more it is the Communist International that is pointing out the correct path to the working class of the world.

In 1933, after Hitler's seizure of power in Germany, it appeared to many people that fascism was then about to march victoriously through the entire world. Everywhere, reaction arose and sought, with its own power, to establish fascist rule over the people of its own country. The anti-fascist forces were disunited, scattered, and the working class was isolated and divided.

In this situation, there sounded the call of the Communist International for a rallying of scattered forces, for unity and resistance to fascism. And the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, basing itself upon the experiences of the anti-fascist struggle throughout 1933 and 1934, issued the general slogan of the people's front, and laid down as the most important task of the international working class that of bringing together its ranks in a united front, and of uniting all anti-fascists in a people's front, in order to bar the way to fascism and to work for its overthrow in those places where it has already been victorious.

It can be said without exaggeration that this slogan had an electrifying effect, bringing about most important results. Although neither the united front nor the people's front are yet by far completed, nor by far established everywhere; and although, wherever they

have been established, their activities and struggles have not been always sufficiently consistent and resolute, yet fascism was halted and temporarily forced back on important sectors of the international fighting front in Europe, and particularly in France and Spain.

It is important to bear in mind the fact that, since Hitler's advent to power in Germany, fascism has not come to power in any important country, *through its own internal strength*—neither through the Cagoulards in France, nor the Mosleyites in Great Britain, the Franco fascists in Spain, the Rexists in Belgium, the Mussertists in Holland, the Nazis in Austria and in Czechoslovakia, and so on. It has been proved possible to bar the way to fascism.

And, if such a possibility is proved to exist *within* the various countries, it must also be possible to extend it to the *international field*, where the fascist aggressors are now coming forward and utilizing every means to *enslave by military force other peoples, states and nations*, and to compel them to accept their hated regime *by force exerted from without.*

Comrade Dimitroff's words in November, 1938, in his pamphlet, *After Munich*, with regard to the political tasks of the working class, remain fully valid:

"In the light of the international situation that has developed after Munich, the proletariat and the working masses of all countries are directly confronted with political tasks of tremendous importance.

"These tasks can be put briefly as follows:

"*To frustrate* the policy of the bandit agreement between the fascist aggressors and the imperialist clique of Britain and France;

"*To offer resolute resistance* in the countries of bourgeois democracy to reaction which is raising its head and is aimed at the social achievements of the working people, at democratic liberties, at the labor movement;

"*To ensure the victory* of the Spanish and Chinese peoples over the fascist vultures;

"*To protect the Czechoslovak people* and the peoples of the small countries against foreign enslavement;

"*To render all possible assistance* to the working class and to the peoples of fascist countries in their struggle against the dictatorship of the fascist gangsters and incendiaries of war.

"All of these tasks are indissolubly connected. But particularly important is the Spanish question. Under no circumstances must a *repetition of Munich* be permitted. The application of the villainous Munich method must not be permitted with regard to the Spanish people.

"All the necessary forces are at hand for the solution of these tasks. *All that is necessary is that these forces be brought into action.* It would be difficult in post-war political history to find another such moment, as the present one, when the interests of the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, when the interests of the small nations, of the dependent and colonial countries, when the interests of culture and science, the interests of peace and democracy so coincided and merged in a common current against fascism, the worst enemy of mankind. *This is quite a real basis for the establishment of the united front of the working class and of the peoples of all countries against fascist barbarism and the incendiaries of imperialist war.*" *

The Communist International has exerted the greatest efforts, since the Seventh World Congress, above all, to unite the working class. These tireless efforts have brought about important results—such as the united fronts in Spain and France, united action in various countries, more friendly relations between Socialists and Communists—but unity on a large scale has so far been checked by the obdurate opposition of the reactionary leaders of the Second International.

Until the outbreak of the first imperialist World War, the Second International embodied the *organizational unity* of a considerable portion of the working

---

* Georgi Dimitroff, *After Munich*, pp. 19-20. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

class, without being in a position to realize the *political unity* of the working class. On the contrary, the reformist leaders, the capitalists' handymen in the working class movement, while maintaining a purely formal organizational unity, split the working class ideologically and politically.

The so-called "orthodox Marxists" within Social-Democracy condoned, for the sake of organizational unity, the ideological and political divisions brought about by reformism. In 1914, were witnessed the frightful results of this division: In all countries the Social-Democratic labor leaders, with but few exceptions, openly placed themselves at the disposal of the bourgeoisie in war service, while the workers of all countries slaughtered each other on the battlefields of imperialism.

In those days of the bloodiest and most appalling division of the international working class, only the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, and a few Left Social-Democrats, such as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, fought for the unity of the international working class, against the imperialist bourgeoisie and the chauvinist warmongers.

Such unity could only be achieved upon the basis of a united revolutionary ideology and policy. Only when the most progressive, class-conscious and revolutionary forces of the working class united ideologically and politically, when they mercilessly cleansed their ranks of the agents and accomplices of the bourgeoisie who had insinuated themselves within them, could they, in the course of struggle, become the core around which the working class could gather in unity.

From the very first, the Communist International formed this solid core of unity. In order to be equal to its historical task of uniting the working class and leading it to victory, it had continually to test anew its cadres, to oppose unsparingly all alien conceptions and hostile tendencies within its ranks, and to overcome any "liberalism"; and it had to develop fighters and fighting parties who have absorbed the teachings of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Stalin, into their very fibre. No organism can live which does not keep rejecting all poisons and morbid matter. In the course of its twenty years of struggle, the Communist International has rejected all the morbid matter and poisons of decaying capitalism. Its ideological and political unity is unbreakable.

The Second International has pursued a different path. It has not learned the necessary lessons from the experiences of the first imperialist war. At its head—now as before—are agents and accomplices of the reactionary bourgeoisie. The poison and morbid matter of decaying capitalism have deeply permeated their ranks. The division thus produced—organizationally covered over only with the greatest effort—has, here and there, developed into obvious decomposition. The Japanese Social-Democrats have united with the fascists in a single party. The Hungarian Social-Democrats are carrying on, in close unison with the Hungarian bourgeoisie, a provocative campaign of war-incitement against Rumania. Polish Social-Democracy celebrated the rape of Czechoslovakia as a Polish victory. Czech Social-Democracy has left the Second International, has defined socialism as an error, and has dissolved itself. The Socialist Party of America has declined until it has become just a few small Trotskyite or semi-Trotskyite groups. The Belgian Labor Party is undergoing a grave crisis, thanks to the disintegrating activities of Spaak and de Man. The reactionary leaders of the British Labor Party conceal Chamberlain's pro-fascist policy; and so on, and so on.

This evident process of decomposition has thrown some of the Social-Democratic workers into a condition of confusion and helplessness. It obstructs the all-around development of the mass struggle against the fascist aggressors. It militates against the process of unification of the working class. On the other hand, however, increasingly large numbers of Social-Democratic workers and functionaries, entire organizations, trade unions and parties, of the Second International, are turning towards the inter-

national unification of the working class, towards the unity of all proletarian forces against fascism.

The Communist International unceasingly points out to the masses the way which leads to the unity of the working class. It makes no conditions regarding unity, save the sole, self-evident one: a genuine, resolute struggle against fascism. It fights against the policy of capitulation, against the capitulators in the leadership of the Second International, in order to protect the labor movement against further degeneration, and in order to assist all healthy forces of Social-Democracy to unite together solidly, and, together with the Communists, to erect an indestructible barrier against the advance of fascist barbarism. In addition to this, the Communist International fights for the uniting of all other forces which are resolved to make no further concessions to fascism and to defend peace and democracy by every possible means.

To realize this unity as rapidly as possible, without delay or postponement, is the immediate aim of the Communist International. There can be no doubt but that the Communist International, in fighting for this objective, expresses the will of the overwhelming majority of the working class.

For twenty years, the Communist International has been working and fighting for the cause of the international working class, for the cause of socialism and of humanity.

Lenin founded it; Lenin gave it that basis of principle and ideology, in which, in brilliant manner, he developed further the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels and applied them in practice. Under Lenin's direct leadership, the Communist International fought for five years against the influence of the class enemy in the working class movement, and thus strengthened its own membership inasmuch as they thus learned how to overcome deviations from the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist path.

And then, when, fifteen years ago, Lenin died, into his place stepped his best disciple, fellow-fighter and executor of his testament, Comrade Stalin, who continues to lead the Communist International along the Leninist path.

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of remaining loyal to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and expand the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International." *

This was the vow of Stalin at Lenin's funeral; and he has kept his vow.

After Lenin's death a concerted attack was made on the Communist International by all the enemies of Bolshevism within its ranks. The band of Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites—who were later exposed as traitors and as the wretched agents and spies of the worst enemies of the workers—endeavored, with their united forces, to divert the Communist International from the path of Leninism and to destroy its unity.

The strong hand and brilliant foresight of Stalin was required in order to repel the repeated and cunning attacks of this band and to destroy it.

Thanks to Stalin's firm Bolshevik leadership, the Communist International is today ideologically stronger and more united than ever. For fifteen years it has been fighting without Lenin, but—under Stalin's leadership—ever upon the Leninist-Stalinist path.

Under Stalin's leadership, the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union has continued Lenin's work, has overcome all dangers, has vanquished all enemies, and has built up socialism.

Under Stalin's leadership, the Communist International continues Lenin's work in the international field—to rally and unify all the forces of the working class, of all oppressed classes and peoples, for the overthrow of hated fascism and capitalism.

---

* Joseph Stalin, *The Lenin Heritage*, p. 15. International Publishers, New York.

The International Brigade

WHEN the murderers of the Spanish people, the mercenaries of German and Italian fascism, marched into Barcelona they saw a big tablet planted in a prominent position. On this tablet there was a row of names and behind every name stood that of a people, of a nation. Among the many names were:

ACKERMANN—BELGIAN
BEIMLER—GERMAN
RALPH FOX—ENGLISH
BRUEGERES—FRENCH
BUDENIDEK—CZECHOSLOVAKIAN
DE LATHOUDER—DUTCH
DORAN—AMERICAN
ERNSTEDT—SWEDE
KOCHANEK—POLE
LARSEN—DANE
LUKACS—HUNGARIAN
MAJEK—SLAV
MAKELA—CANADIAN
NANETTI—ITALIAN
OUSSIDHOUN—ALGERIAN
PARAVITCH-SCHMIDT—JUGO-SLAV
SIMMERMAN—AUSTRIAN
SKESETH—NORWEGIAN
SUTTER MAX—SWISS

Sons of all nations, proletarians of all countries, inscribed on the tablet of honor which the people of Barcelona raised in honor of the great dead of the International Brigade; the name of *one* of the dead for every nation from whose midst went the best sons in order to lay down their lives in the fight for freedom. The German and Italian fascist murderers have torn down this tablet of honor but the names of the great dead are immortal; they will live on in the hearts of the international working class.

The International Brigade was withdrawn from the front line before the last offensive launched by the interventionist powers. The international fighters for freedom who had hastened to Spain from the non-fascist countries returned to their homes in order to join in the daily fight for the freedom of their own people and to work for the unity of the working class. The international fighters who came from fascist countries could not leave Spain immediately and they, whose staunch hearts had learned the hard duty of waiting, remained behind in camps.

When the fascist interventionists succeeded, with their overwhelming superiority in war material, in breaking the front and taking Barcelona, these fighters of the International Brigade demanded that they be again enrolled in the ranks of the Spanish People's Army. And it was the highest possible proof of their proletarian discipline that they submitted to the decision of the Republican government which could not break its word that the International Brigade be withdrawn. With banners raised and their ranks closed these heroes, whose fame was won at Madrid and Guadalajara, at Jarama and Belchite, at Brunete and Teruel, marched shoulder to shoulder with their Spanish comrades-in-arms across the Pyrenees. At the French frontier they paraded before their commanders, before their organizer, André Marty.

The International Brigaders have not only made a place for themselves in history but they continue to stand in the front ranks of the fight for the liberty of the people and the unity of the working class. They represent the *highest expression of international solidarity, of the anti-fascist united front and of proletarian honor, devotion and courage. Their presence tells us that the cause for which they were prepared to fight and die will finally be victorious.*

They came from all countries and they go back to all countries in order to strengthen the fight for freedom, to encourage the waverers, to root out the cowards and to realize the unity of the working class. Their example teaches the people how to overcome the horrors of fascism and the shame of capitulation.

The German and Italian people, sullied by the murderous deeds of the fascist hangmen and their bestial treatment of Spanish women and children, will see in the German and Italian fighters of the International Brigade the restoration of their honor and a symbol of their coming freedom.

The British people, whose reactionary government delivered the Spanish people over to Hitler and Mussolini, will see in the English fighters of the International Brigade a need to fight for the ending of the policy of Chamberlain. The French people will understand that the French fighters of the International Brigade in sharp contrast to Daladier and Bonnet, who are delivering France over to the stranglehold of the fascist aggressor, not only fought for the Spanish republic but also for the defense of the French republic. The consistent internationalism of the International Brigades was at the same time the highest form of defense of the national interests of the people from whose midst the heroic fighters came.

While the fascist governments were sending their troops to Spain, while the non-fascist powers were operating the deceitful trick of "non-intervention," while the reactionary leaders of the Second International were expressing their sympathy with Spain but at the same time supporting "non-intervention," the best sons of the people in all countries were coming to the help of the Spanish fighters for freedom.

Communist and Social-Democratic workers left their homes and families and reached Spain after passing many frontiers and overcoming many dangers. Peasants sold their last cow so that they could help the Spanish peasants to settle accounts with their oppressors. Honest intellectuals, writers, doctors and engineers put themselves at the disposal of the Spanish people's army. Catholics who understood the feeling of the masses felt that their conscience demanded that they fight against fascist barbarism.

Men from all countries and from all groups were united in the International Brigades: officials of the working class movement who had won the confidence of the workers as the result of tens of years of service, young men who strove to steel themselves in the fire of the struggle for freedom, experienced soldiers who had learned how to use weapons during the World War, courageous Young Communists and Young Socialists who had had their baptism of fire on the barricades of Vienna and elsewhere, skilled workers who came direct from the factories, and writers whose works were known in all spheres of culture.

In the struggle for freedom there came together the citizens of thirty nations—workers, peasants and intellectuals, gray-haired trade unionists and young workers, students, Communists, Social-Democrats, Anarchists, Catholics and non-party people. All these formed the great *unity* of the International Brigade. They placed themselves at the service of a people who were more and more uniting their forces against the fascist aggressor. In the midst of the heroic Spanish people they were the embodiment of the international united front.

They were and still are an example of action, a reply to those leaders of the Second International who set themselves against the unity of the working class. They were and are the clearest expression of the will to unity felt *by the masses in all countries*. In them and not in the opponents of unity the international working class saw the bearers of the best traditions and the upholders of the noblest aspirations of the proletarian movement.

The heroic Spanish people were betrayed by the so-called democratic powers and not sufficiently supported by the working class movement of the capitalist countries. Certainly the solidarity of the proletariat took on a hundred

different forms, certainly the "Aid Spain" movement assumed significant dimensions, but the decisive *political* support was lacking, because of the attitude, and it is necessary to speak openly, of the reactionary leaders of the Second International.

It was the International Brigaders who sought to save, by the sacrifice of their lives, that which the supporters of "non-intervention" had betrayed; it was the International Brigaders who overcame all obstacles and limitations and expressed in deeds the solidarity, discipline and historic mission of the working class. They were free from panic and did not know the meaning of wavering. For them every form of surrender was a thing to be treated with contempt. While stone walls were broken down by the fire of cannon they stood firmer than the stones. When it was necessary to hold a position they held it to the last man. They went into the attack singing; in defense they were unbreakable. They won for themselves the love and admiration of their Spanish comrades in arms.

They became the military and political teachers of the younger cadres of the Spanish People's Army. The names of their battalions, Thaelmann, Edgar Andrée, Twelfth of February, Garibaldi, Paris Commune, Dombrovsky, Lincoln, Rakosi, Antikainen and Masaryk became legendary in Spain.

"Knights of Freedom!" Thus were they named by Dr. Negrin, the Prime Minister of the Spanish republic.

When they marched through Barcelona for the last time, they were surrounded by a sea of tears and of jubilation. The people cried to them in the words of the Spanish poet, Alberti:

"You came from afar.
But distance has no meaning to your blood
Which knows no frontiers.
Remain!
So call to you the trees, the flowers and the light
Brothers, because of you Madrid will become great and brilliant."

Now they have left Spain, the land fertilized by their immortal blood, the blood of eight thousand International Brigaders. *They have taken an oath to fight on for freedom and for the unity of the working class.* They will hold to this oath in all countries and under all conditions. From their hands the international working class has taken over the testament of the eight thousand dead and the moral and political demands of a heroic people whose struggle for freedom has become an example for all peoples. From their hands it has taken over the historic obligation to defend freedom and to realize unity as did the International Brigades.

The working class must understand what a treasure and what experience the fighters for freedom now returned from Spain bring with them, into what worthy cadres of the movement these fighters have grown during the course of a struggle lasting more than two years. Every class-conscious worker must understand that the oath taken by his brothers who have returned from Spain also places on him a serious obligation. The example of the highest form of unity, solidarity, discipline and courage, the example of the International Brigade in struggle against fascism, stands before every class-conscious worker who has the task of fighting to overcome every form of capitulation.

"Desperate Exports"

THE tub-thumpers of German finance capital love to deck their oratory with tinny pathos. It's all one whether the speech is about "degenerate" and "anomalous" art, about the art of sitting in a Mercedes-Benz or about economic questions, the orator seeks and finds a "saying" which for a time becomes the fashion.

"Export or die" is such a saying. It is, it is true, in contradiction to the former solemn protestations of the tub-thumper, but it is in line with a particularly difficult situation into which the Hitler regime has managed to maneuver German economy.

At the end of January Germany's turnover of foreign trade (including that of annexed Austria and the Sudeten districts) at 913,600,000 marks was less than the turnover in January, 1938 (929,000,000 marks) without Austria and the Sudeten districts. The year 1938 closed with a passive balance of about 450,000,000 marks. In a single month, from the end of December to the end of January, 1939, imports decreased from 541,900,000 marks to 472,000,000 marks. The import of the necessities of life, alone, decreased 69,900,000 marks. Export in the same period sank from 504,-100,000 marks to 441,300,000 marks.

These figures of foreign trade are the outward and visible sign of an economy directed toward a war of aggression, an economy subsidized and regimented by the state. They are the result of the domination of the armament industry, of the driving out and, in part, destruction of those small and medium enterprises which specialized in the production of fine goods for the world market. They are finally a necessary result of that blackmailing export which has the purpose of forcing on trading partners a mass of goods as "contras" to raw materials and semi-manufactured articles.

Some Latin American countries, the Balkan states and Turkey have already accumulated experience in trading with Hitler Germany, costly experiences which are harming their own industries and are filling the warehouses of their commercial firms with a mass of cheap trash. With regard to Sweden, Hitler Germany has taken a further step as "a trading power": it is trying, insidiously, to draw this country into the "German economic sphere."

But, as we have already said, the serious decline of German foreign trade is in part a result of this piracy. The movement for a general boycott of German goods in many countries has recently given Germany a new blow.

Another side of German export practice deserves the special attention of working people in those countries which are "blessed" with German exports. The *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, a newspaper of German finance capital, has said that Germany is determined in its policy of "desperate exports." The words can only mean that the Hitler regime will not hesitate to use any means to bring its policy of expansion into the sphere of foreign trade as well. "Desperate export," which in reality means to undermine and upset the present trading relations between the countries, is one of those forms of "war in peace time" about which the National-Socialist expert in economic politics, "Professor" Hunke, writes. The principle that agreements between countries are to be concluded for the purpose of restricting the freedom of movement of the part-

ner to the agreement, to the advantage of Hitler Germany, a principle which in politics has long been part of the brazenness of German fascism, is being also introduced into economics by means of "desperate export." One of the first requisites for the realization of "desperate export" is a further reduction in the standard of living of the German workers with a simultaneous increase in output.

A rationalization offensive with its own hallmark was carried out at one time in Germany. It differed from the previous attempts at rationalization mainly by the fact that it was accomplished with the combination of state power and the all-around pressure of the widespread apparatus of fascist organizations. An industrial committee with dictatorial powers controlled and led the offensive. The organizations of the so-called "German Labor Front," and the "factory councils" were declared tools of the rationalization offensive.

The law passed in the summer of 1938 on "substitution of labor for important tasks of state political importance" was repealed in February, 1939, by a more far-reaching law, the clauses of which in practice take away the remnants of "freedom of movement" and turn the workers and employees into mere tools in the hands of the labor officials. The "normal working day" is now ten to twelve hours on an average; in many factories 14 to 16 are called "normal." Labor speed-up is terrific.

Through the above-mentioned law, the labor officials have the power arbitrarily to transfer workers and employees to other work, to order them to other jobs no matter whether this change means a considerable reduction in wages. The labor officials have the "right" to "retrain" workers and employees, *i.e.*, to take them away from the trade they have learned and to drill them in a new "trade." The boldest dreams of the engineer Arnhold, who in the post-war period was paid by heavy industry to make experiments in the production of human machines, are now coming to fulfillment. It is no accident that this Arnhold is now playing a leading part in the present rationalization.

In the interests both of the preparation of a war of aggression, and of "desperate export," the youth are being forced into trades which for the moment are thought important. An example: the labor office in Braunschweig informed the bakers that this year only forty apprentices were to be taken on instead of the necessary 200. The fascist papers are threatening the use of force in this "guidance of trade."

All this is going on while food is constantly increasing in price and getting rarer and wages are falling. "Desperate export" is claiming its first victims from the working class of Germany.

This demands the special attention of workers of those countries at which German fascism is aiming its export offensive. The most simple proletarian class solidarity demands from them defense against the import and purchase of goods which come from a country in which the workers and employees are performing forced labor. They are aiding the German working class, robbed of all their rights, when they organize the boycott of German goods.

For their own immediate interests as well such an attitude toward the German export offensive is necessary. The methods by which German capitalists force down costs to enable them to offer goods at "dumping" prices are a provocation to the reactionary capitalists of other countries to find a way of competing with German "desperate export" by similar methods. By developing the fight against the "desperate export" of Hitler Germany, the working people are at the same time protecting themselves from the transplanting of German fascism's labor methods into their own country.

There Is Method in This Madness

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, the Labor Party's most popular public speaker and its most effective debater in the British House of Commons, has been excluded from that party, to the astonishment alike of friends and enemies of the Labor Party.

His crime was that during the most vital days of the struggle in Catalonia he called for the Labor Party to take the lead in the organization of all the opposition forces with a view to the early defeat of the Chamberlain government. And so the cowards and defeatists of the Labor Party, the men who praised Chamberlain's flight to Berchtesgaden, have expelled him.

The day before his expulsion Cripps wrote an article to the *Daily Herald* in which he asked:

"If it is true now to say that the major issue in Spain, France, Great Britain and other countries is the survival of democracy and working class freedom, then it is surely the duty of all democrats not to insist on the ultimate items of their particular policies, but to combine on the main issue of democracy and freedom against fascism and war."

In the same number of the *Herald* (January 25), one of the journalistic mercenaries who are prepared to serve the Labor Party chiefs with arguments to back any policy, a Mr. Francis Williams, replied with the following arguments:

"Neither working class freedom nor democracy can be saved now except by socialism." Here is a seemingly Left argument. But what does it mean in the concrete situation? Suppose, as is not only possible but likely, Chamberlain seeks to arrange a fresh Munich betrayal —this time at the expense of France, and suppose, as is not only likely but practically certain, the mass of the British people seek to force the resignation of Chamberlain—then on the basis of the policy outlined by Williams, the Labor Party must say: "If we cannot have a Socialist government, then Chamberlain must remain." In short, this seemingly Left standpoint is the platform of a cowardly surrender to Chamberlain.

Nay, worse. It is the platform for a cowardly surrender to Hitler. For if Chamberlain is ready (and he is ready) to satisfy Hitler's appetite at the expense of the working class, of democracy and of the freedom of the peoples, then the Labor Party, on the basis of its thesis that "neither working class democracy nor freedom can be saved except by socialism," will shrug its shoulders and agree. As socialism is not yet being realized in Britain, there is nothing that can be done except to support Chamberlain and capitulate before Hitler. This is the political "wisdom" of these Labor leaders.

Lest anyone thinks that we are misinterpreting Williams, let us quote further: "There will have to be no less national organization of economic life to a common purpose, although a purpose vastly different from that of fascism—if British democracy is to match the power of fascism. Only socialism can do that."

Thus what these Labor leaders understand by socialism is a sedulous imitation of the fascist "organization of economic life," *i.e.*, the unrestricted rule of a few huge trusts whose crushing weight presses down not only the workers but also the farmers, the handicraftsmen, the small shopkeepers and the small employers. The fascist "economic organization," which in reality upsets all economic life and which rushes through ever increasing disorganizations to chaos has become

the day-dream "although for a vastly different purpose" of this Chamberlain Socialist. And as this "system" has not yet been achieved, there is, according to the crazy logic of Messrs. Williams and Co., no sense in resisting Chamberlain and fascism. On the basis of the same logic one might assert that there is no sense in putting out the fire, that one must wait until someone invents fireproof building materials.

Williams goes further. With pretended naivete he asks:

"What policy does Sir Stafford desire this combination to follow? It is to adopt a twelve-point program which, when it strays from Labor's immediate program, becomes so vague, that even Mr. Chamberlain might pay lip-service to it."

We wonder what are the points that Chamberlain would pay lip-service to. Can it be—

"The effective protection of the democratic rights, liberties and freedom of the British people from internal or external attack"; or "a positive policy of peace by collective action with France, Russia, the United States of America and other democratic countries, for the strengthening of democracy against aggression"; or could it be "control of the financial resources of the nation through control of the Bank of England and the increase of direct taxation if necessary, to enable the above program to be carried through?"

It is absolutely certain that Neville Chamberlain, the pro-fascist, can support none of these things, neither could be disapprove of a "socialism" that would, as Messrs. William and Co. wish, introduce into England the fascist "organization of economic life."

The Labor leaders are striving to present Chamberlain as an amiable old gentleman, who is unfortunately stupid, who does not quite know what he wants, and who therefore need not be decisively resisted but only gently looked after. They seek to hide the fact that Chamberlain is a hard-boiled and experienced reactionary who is directing British policy along fascist lines.

This refusal to recognize the true character of Chamberlain and of the policy he is pursuing is characteristic of the line of the trade union bureaucracy.

Not only do these people declare that there is no fascist danger likely in Britain so long as Chamberlain rules, but they see the only possible danger of fascism as one arising from the failure of a weak Left government.

"We can certainly learn from France," says Williams. "But not, I think, to imitate it. For the one certain fact is that a comparable failure in Britain of an unstable Left government would give fascism here the stimulus it now lacks."

That means that so long as Chamberlain is allowed to pursue a policy which leads to fascism in the interests of the financial oligarchy, the stimulus to fascism in Britain is lacking.

We think we have heard all this before. Did not German Social-Democracy preach: "Hindenburg is the best protection against Hitler. So long as Hindenburg is President, Hitler cannot come to power." The English Labor leaders draw the same conclusion: "So long as Chamberlain rules we are guaranteed against fascism. The only danger is a Left government (for the Labor leaders are of the opinion, beforehand, that a Left government cannot be a strong government). One must therefore prevent the formation of a Left government." And so Williams and Co. regard as their main political task to do all in their power to prevent the people from replacing the government of Chamberlain by a Left government. There is method in this madness.

But surely the limit is reached when we read in a further article by the same Williams on February 2:

"What lies behind this movement for alliance with those who differ fundamentally from socialist policy?

"It grows out of a fear of war and of fascism so intense that it appears to make calm judgment impossible.

"This fear of war and fascism spreads

like a contagious disease leaving political hysteria in its wake. Fear is a bad basis for any policy. I hate war. I detest fascism. But I refuse to lose my head in an agony of fear of them, for I have confidence that if the strength of the organized Labor movement is maintained, we can give to British democracy a leadership that will bring an end to the fascist menace."

At the time this was written, the fascists were storming the last hills in Catalonia and Roosevelt was telling the Senate Military Affairs Committee that he dreaded a "new Munich."

But Mr. Williams was not afraid. He has looked patiently on the agony of Spain for almost three years and the very men who are now boasting that the Labor movement can beat Chamberlain easily have not only prevented any serious struggle against Chamberlain (for they regard a Left government as the main danger) but they have also prevented that movement from doing anything effective to force arms for Spain. Mr. Williams has calmly seen Austria conquered, Czechoslovakia dismembered and subjugated. He has calmly seen his own paper wishing "good luck" to Chamberlain when he flew to Berchtesgaden, and he writes calmly as if he could wait for years: "I have confidence if the strength of the organized Labor movement is maintained we can give to British democracy a leadership which will bring an end to the fascist menace." Bold words. But when will this take place?

The leaders in whom Williams trusts are telling the workers that nothing can be done until the next general election. Those who remain so calm when fascism suppresses one land after the other, when the second imperialist war continues to spread ever wider, only become disquited when they see that the English people wants a Left government. In order to avoid this, the main danger, they are struggling, by means of their rejection of the policy of cooperation of all opposition forces, for a victory of Chamberlain in the next election.

Perhaps, however, Hitler, Mussolini and Chamberlain, who are not quite so calm and quiet as the Labor leaders, will not wait until the next election in England. Perhaps Hitler and Mussolini will open a new offensive long before the next election in order to unloose a world war with the help of Chamberlain.

Meanwhile Mr. Williams and his associates will keep on assuring the world "that I have confidence if the strength of the organized Labor movement is maintained we can give to British democracy a leadership which will bring an end to the fascist menace."

The Executive of the Labor Party in an appeal to the membership of the party declares that Labor will beat Chamberlain in all constituencies where the government had a 6,000 majority over Labor at the last election and will finally be victorious. Neither the by-elections which took place in the summer of 1938, nor those which followed Munich (although in the post-Munich elections the anti-government vote is growing) show that the Labor Party is likely to do this. Indeed the only by-election where it has been done was the Bridgewater by-election where the Liberal and Labor forces were united behind a single candidate.

The lesson is clear. Democratic unity can defeat Chamberlain, but to get that unity the forces in the British Labor movement which support Chamberlain and shrink back from a Left movement as the greater evil, which are opening the door to reaction, must be exposed. The workers must see that those who mask a pro-Chamberlain policy with empty chatter about socialism and working class independence, those who treat the urgent demand for unity as "political hysteria" are rendered impotent to prevent the British working class from assuming its rightful place at the head of the British people in the struggle to defend democracy and save peace.

"There Is Something Rotten in the State of Denmark"

IN JANUARY, at the time of the Party Congress of the Danish Socialist Party some unusual events had taken place in Denmark. Two officers in highly placed positions were dismissed from the Danish army as their connections with the German Military Espionage Center, during the September crisis, had become too obvious. A widely spread spy organization under the lead of Pflugk-Harttung, the Liebknecht murderer, was reported, as their activities were even too much for the Danish authorities. Even before the Danish workers had digested this news thoroughly a burglary took place in the offices of the Danish Socialist Party Executive, which was committed by the fascists and showed expert knowledge of the whereabout of the various material. The documents went with the next fascist courier to Berlin, and were partly published in the Copenhagen fascist paper.

Only a short while before, a similar theft of documents occurred. During the course of a lawsuit by the Social-Democratic Minister of Justice, Steincke, against the leader of the Danish fascists, Fritz Clausen, the fascist solicitor, Eiler Pontoppidan, revealed documents abstracted from the same Ministry of Justice with the help of fascist police officials. This was more than even the police in Denmark could tolerate. The solicitor and several officials from the Political Police were arrested. The chief of the Political Police, Andreas Hansen, formerly an agent of the tsarist Okhrana, who had for three years worked for the Gestapo as an amateur agent, had to take "urgent leave."

It became known that these Gestapo agents in the Political Police were also members of that Nazi gang of Wilfred Petersen, which caused continual sensations by throwing bombs into the house of the Socialist War Minister, by kidnaping a German anti-fascist emigrant, and recently by their anti-Semitic terrorism; also by blackmailing Copenhagen business men.

By the uprooting of a second spy center it becomes clear that Pflugk-Harttung and the fascist advocate connect all the fascist groups with each other, and maintain a center of connection with the Gestapo, which leads this undermining work in Denmark.

Not all the threads of the Gestapo net stretched over Denmark are broken, and even if the chief of the Danish police informs the public, in order to ease their minds, that "The Danish police, as a whole, is healthy," this cannot hide the proofs that "there is something rotten in the state of Denmark."

The terrorist and spy activities on behalf of German fascism become stronger at the same time as the fascist elements of all shades in Denmark display new activity, and organize cooperation of their forces. The cooperation of the fascists internally with the outer fascist enemy threatening Denmark has never been so obvious as after these events.

In spite of these facts the Social-Democratic Congress, which is being held under these circumstances, passes a manifesto in which the word "fascism" is not mentioned at all. Though the chairman of the party Th. Stauming, who is also Prime Minister of the country, in his address on the policy of the Danish Social-Democratic Party gives explicit details of the events of the last fifty years,

he is completely silent about what has happened in the last fifty days before the Congress. The word "fascism" or "nazism," used by the Danish workers as an expression of their disgust and hate against the fascist warmongers, hangmen and spies, does not pass his lips.

This is not a coincidence. The Danish Socialist workers were not the only ones waiting for the explanation of the Prime Minister, but the German fascists based their expectations on it also. There before the rostrum of the aggressors stood the Socialist Prime Minister of a small country which had pledge its neutrality, and many other things, toward Hitler Germany.

At the Socialist Congress Stauning did not speak about the interference in internal matters of Denmark which had grown considerably of late, nor about the activities of the German agents. For their toleration is part of the conditions called "neutrality" by German fascism.

Part of this suicidal "neutrality" is also the complete *Gleischaltung* of the public opinion in Denmark. By means of protests of its Copenhagen diplomatically-privileged "governor," German fascism forced a record number of newspapers to be censored, the removal of editors, the withdrawals of books, restriction of exhibitions, changes in theatre programs. No criticism of the conditions prevailing in Hitler Germany are to be allowed in Denmark.

Therefore Stauning demanded at the party congress as further policy that "Denmark should take an impartial attitude toward the internal political conditions in other countries." It is, of course, Hitler Germany only which is meant by these "other countries."

Stauning's explanations, the *Volkische Beobachter* thinks, are worth a good report. It is not the first time that the *Volkische Beobachter* praises Stauning. Once it was because Stauning led a wild campaign against the idea of a Northern Defense League. This time Stauning is portrayed with the appreciative note that "the leader of the Danish government sketched the duties of true neutrality by saying that the public opinion of a neutral country must abstain from attacks against the form of government of other countries."

But Stauning still goes further along the path of capitulation which is paved with "neutrality" regulations. Next he repeats that "Denmark in case of a dispute between other nations should take a neutral attitude and refrain from any kind of interference in such disputes." For the Social-Democrat Stauning attacks on peaceful nations are "disputes between other nations"; now what about one's own nation? Stauning maintains that the Danish nation would be left in the lurch. International solidarity between the large and the small are dreams. No attacked nation could count on any assistance. "All political talk of the past" —as it says still clearer in the Manifesto of the party—"all hopes of assistance in the hour of danger, will only cause disappointments, for, like the plans of alliance and assistance for our country, they are without actuality and practical possibilities."

Such a defiance to all, such a renouncing of all assistance, is nothing else than to forfeit one's own country. Though Stauning says: "if infringements of neutrality occur, whether accidental or committed on purpose, then these must be repulsed," he adds immediately, "so long as they are of such a character that there is a possibility of repelling these infringements."

German military airplanes fly over Danish territory and land there. German warships cruise in Danish waters. German spy centers make themselves at home in Denmark. On Danish soil German Nazi organizations demand the alteration of the frontier and the Anschluss of Danish North Schleswig with Germany. When has the Danish government raised the slightest diplomatic protests in Berlin against all these infringements of the Danish frontiers and its sovereignty? Never! Is it astonishing that these explanations of Stauning cause delight in the *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz*, that he gets high praise for it?

"Stauning's foreign political program,"

as the *Korrespondenz* writes, "owing to its fundamental attitude which is assigned to a nation which wishes for neutrality—is of a significance passing even beyond the frontiers of his country."

This is how a nation which wants to preserve its independence and neutrality has to shape its relations to the world, says the fascist *Korrespondenz*. To the other countries Stauning is shown as a good example whose principles are worth copying.

"Many large but also many small countries which have declared that they stand for neutrality and non-intervention would do well to act by the same principles."

In this way Stauning practices a policy of slyness and subservience to Germany, a policy that was mocked before the World War by the Danish author Henrik Pontoppidan:

"But in fear of German notes,
We walked as on cat's paws,
In our own Danish land."

At the Congress Stauning resigned as Party Chairman "on account of his age," to remain only Prime Minister.

Is there already an intimation from the German side that being chairman of a working class party does not agree with the position of a "neutral" Prime Minister?

Is another capitulation being prepared? Is it to be an attempt to free Stauning's foreign policy from the possible influence that the mass of Social-Democratic workers might have upon it?

The experiences of the working class with two other "independent" Prime Mininsters, MacDonald and Spaak, should make the Danish workers extremely vigilant. Stauning's course in foreign policy is a danger for the Danish working class, for it undermines its power of resistance against the fascist aggressor. Stauning's course in foreign policy is a danger for the Scandinavian working class, for it has already led Denmark too far away from other democratic nations, and also isolated Denmark among the Scandinavian countries. On behalf of its independence its national existence, the Danish nation must gather with the nations of the north and all the forces which oppose the aggression of German fascism so as to preserve Denmark from approaching barbarism.

PARTY CADRES

"The Party cadres constitute the commanding staff of the Party; and since our Party is in power, they also constitute the commanding staff of the leading organs of state. After a correct political line has been worked out and tested in practice, the Party cadres become the decisive force in the work of guiding the Party and the state. A correct political line is, of course, the primary and most important thing. But that in itself is not enough. A correct political lines is not needed as a declaration, but as something to be carried into effect. But in order to carry a correct political line into effect, we must have cadres, people who understand the political line of the Party, who accept it as their own line, who are prepared to carry it into effect, who are able to put it into practice and are capable of answering for it, defending it and fighting for it. Failing this, a correct political line runs the risk of being purely nominal."—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 43.

Tom Mooney and the Fascist Head-Hunters

ON JANUARY 7, 1939, Tom Mooney, American fighter for freedom, at long last came out of the San Quentin prison of San Francisco in which he had been interned, though totally innocent, for twenty-two years.

During a demonstration which was organized on July 22, 1916, in favor of America entering the World War, a bomb exploded in the streets of San Francisco and killed several people. Four workers were arrested under suspicion for the outrage, among them Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. Tom Mooney, son of a mine worker and himself an active trade union leader, was a thorn in the side of the American financial magnates. On the strength of false witnesses, Billings was sentenced to penal servitude for life, and Tom Mooney to death. But under pressure from a great mass campaign which was started as soon as the sentences were announced, the death penalty was commuted to one of life imprisonment.

Throughout the whole of the intervening period the American and international proletariat had not forgotten Tom Mooney, the victim of imperialist warfever. During these twenty-two years that Mooney had been languishing in jail, the workers of every country had demanded his release at thousands upon thousands of meetings, demonstrations, congresses, conferences and assemblies. Comrade Dimitroff issued an appeal in defense of Tom Mooney on July 1, 1935. He wrote:

". . . I address a burning appeal to every fighter against political reaction, against fascist barbarism, to every person of honor, whether working by hand or brain, and without regard to political conviction, to all those who saved the lives of the innocent defendants by their powerful protests over the provocatory Leipzig Trials and secured my release in the face of Goering's criminal threats — that they should rouse themselves on behalf of Tom Mooney, who in spite of many years' imprisonment has remained true to the great cause of the working class. Tom Mooney, this noble worker and dauntless proletarian fighter, must be saved. An end must be made of the frightful wrongs which are being committed against this true son of the American working class."

Again and again the courts, commissions and judges had to consider the case of Tom Mooney, but all the facts, alibis and documentary photos indicated that neither Tom Mooney nor Billings had anything to do with the outrage. But these people who had engineered their conviction in the first place knew how to arrange things so that the original sentences should remain in force. Not until San Francisco elected a progressive governor was the injustice done to the workers' leader made good.

In the twenty-two years that Tom Mooney spent behind prison bars, he never lost faith in the cause of the working class. And when he finally emerged from his cell his first words to a newspaper reporter were: "My life is now dedicated to the struggle for the release of Billings and for the unity of the working class." Almost a generation in prison had failed to break his courage, devotion and fighting spirit.

In this *one* man is embodied the unrestrainable, unconquerable strength of that class which is destined to build a new world, a new free order of society without exploitation of man by man, without class injustice, without wars plotted in pursuit of profit. However strong the persecution and repression of

this class and its leaders, it can never shake their fighting spirit and determination in spite of any temporary setback. No sooner is one of their best men, like Tom Mooney, set free than he rejoins the ranks and plays his part once again.

Tom Mooney's release after twenty-two years of terrible prison life is something more than the redress of an injustice; it is a symbol of the struggle of the international proletariat, whose path spans every dark chasm and leads upward to the summit, to freedom, in spite of the ranting and roaring of fascist bloodhounds.

All over the world men with even a spark of humanity left in their breasts bow in homage to this great, superhuman martyrdom of a man who has devoted this entire life to the working class. Two hundred and fifty thousand men and women of San Francisco greeted Tom Mooney on his release from jail. The good wishes of millions upon millions of people throughout the world accompanied him on his first walk to freedom.

German fascism, outside the pale of civilized humanity, has reserved for itself the privilege of making a futile attempt to warm up, over the flames of Tom Mooney's case, its poisonous "one-pot meal." For many months the press organs of German fascism had been conducting an infamous campaign against Roosevelt and American democracy. The release of Tom Mooney after twenty-two years of confinement came, for the fascist pogrom-heroes, as an excellent opportunity to read the Scriptures to the United States and the democratic world. "Travesty of justice," howled the *Voelkische Beobachter*, trying to create an impression that such a thing could only occur in "liberty-infested" countries.

The people who brought about Mooney's imprisonment with an aid of hired witnesses, and delayed his release for many years, are the same who today are fighting Roosevelt tooth and nail, who would like to destroy American democracy. To be sure even in so-called democratic countries reaction does not stick at legal murder. But where the mass of people possess democratic liberties they are in a position, though it may be only after a long-drawn-out struggle, to expose the enemies of justice employed by the wire-pullers, and to right the wrongs perpetrated by them. Under democracy the mass of people are in a position to defend themselves, to raise their voice in protest and to force the plutocracy to reckon with them and yield to their pressure.

But world opinion does not forget, and never will, that the murderous fascist regime in Germany has already held Ernst Thaelmann in prison for nearly six years. No German court has dared to level a charge against Ernst Thaelmann; no court has passed sentence upon him. It is entirely *arbitrarily* that this man, whose every act is known to the public, has been robbed of his freedom for six years on end. The "case" of Ernst Thaelmann is a *travesty of justice* unique in the world's history.

The world does not forget that the bloody fascist regime has covered Germany with a network of penal colonies—concentration camps—in which hundreds of thousands of sons and daughters of the German people and tens of thousands of defenseless Jews have been kept for years in completely arbitrary confinement. These penal colonies, where innocent people are tortured to death, are monuments to fascist ignominy. From these penal colonies there ring out day and night the cries of innocent, terror-stricken, tormented men and women. From these camps there issue daily and hourly the indictments of people tortured to death. The world does not forget that in the stone quarries, where young and old are whipped into forced labor, people break down with curses against the savage system. The world does not forget that in these penal colonies there are savages let loose, such as human history has scarcely ever witnessed.

The world does not forget that on the battlefield within Germany the executioner is at work. The German fascists have assassinated, shot and beheaded Fiete Schultze, Edgar André, Peter For-

ster, the war-wounded Claus, Scheer and many thousands of others. The world does not forget that in Germany there is living a three-year-old child whose mother, the unforgettable Liselotte Hermann, was executed. This child is the ward of humanity as a whole. And when it cries for its mother it accuses the accursed fascist system in words which drown all the tirades of the propaganda-mongers and all the screaming of the loudspeakers which defile the air.

World opinion knows what security of rights is to be found in the Germany of today. The world knows that the honest citizens of Germany live in daily fear of life and liberty, and that the fascist regime of the gallows has turned the Germany of Goethe into the Germany of the Gestapo.

And this shameful system has the effrontery to pose as a guardian of justice and to lecture other countries about their justice. This fascist regime has forfeited every right to raise its voice in the counsels of nations!

Immediately after his release, Tom Mooney took up his stand against fascism in a radio lecture. He reminded his hearers of the persecution of the German trade union movement, the Socialists, Communists and Jews, and declared:

"I can see no more powerful force, which might check the advance of the disastrous fascist reaction, other than the organized force of the workers."

In his message to the British workers he characterized fascism as "the most brutal form of reaction that ever existed." It is a menace to "the forces of democracy and of the working class movement."

Tom Mooney says in this message: "We must unite the working class and all its friends."

These words are an exhortation to the international proletariat and to all sincere advocates of democracy and liberty to strain every nerve and conduct a unified struggle against Hitler's fascism, in order to snatch its victims from its clutches.

Tom Mooney is free. All the louder we must raise the cry: *Free Thaelmann and the hundreds of thousands of maltreated inmates of the dungeons, penitentiaries and concentration camps of Hitler's Germany!*

THE POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS

"The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the people cannot get along without capitalists and landlords, without merchants and kulaks. The working class of our country has proved in practice that the people can get along without exploiters perfectly well.

"The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that, having destroyed the old bourgeois system, the working class is incapable of building anything new to replace the old. The working class of our country has proved in practice that it is quite capable not only of destroying the old system but of building a new and better system, a socialist system, a system, moreover, to which crises and unemployment are unknown."—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 62.

Lenin in the Struggle for the Communist International

BY E. YAROSLAVSKY

WHEN Marx died, no Social-Democratic workers' party as yet existed in Russia. In the year in which Marx passed away, the first Marxist organization of Russian Social-Democrats—Plekhanov's group, "Emancipation of Labor"—was formed.

This essentially literary group outside Russia had a certain ideological influence on Social-Democratic groups and circles in Russia, but it was by no means the general staff of a Socialist movement.

In the 'nineties Lenin made his appearance in the arena of political activity. Despite his youth he was already an educated Marxist; he had a mastery not only of the classical languages, but also of French, German and English; he was familiar not only with Marxist literature in translation, but had read a great many works in the original.

Lenin brought to realization the dream of Marx and Engels after the collapse of the First International, about which Engels had written to Sorge in September, 1874:

"I think that the next International—after Marx's writings have had some years of influence—will be directly Communist and will openly proclaim our principles." *

Engels died before this dream of Marx and Engels could be fulfilled. After the death of Frederick Engels there was no one in the Social-Democratic Parties of Europe who could take upon himself the realization of this task, the formation of a Communist International.

The international workers' movement now went through a period during which opportunism was dominant in the Second International. But as early as the first half of the 'nineties Lenin's political activity made it clear that the first cell of the future party of revolutionary Marxism was being formed in Russia: the "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class." This organization rested on a foundation which was as firm as granite, the foundation of revolutionary Marxism. Vast tasks towered up before this young organization, tasks not only of importance for Russia, but of international importance. Lenin wrote at that time:

"History has now confronted us with an immediate task, which is *more revolutionary than all the immediate tasks* that confront the proletariat in any other country. The fulfillment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but also (it may now be said) of Asiatic reaction, places the Russian proletariat in the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat." *

In the 'nineties Lenin embarked upon his activities among the workers of St. Petersburg. At that time capitalism was beginning to advance towards its highest stage, imperialism, which meant the beginning of the decline of capitalism, of its decay, not only in the most highly developed countries of Europe and

* *The Correspondence of Marx and Engels*. p. 330, International Publishers, New York.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, Book II, p. 112, International Publishers, New York.

America, but also in Russia. Russia became the junction point of all the contradictions of imperialism.

". . . Russia more than any other country was pregnant with revolution. . . . Tsarism concentrated within itself the most negative sides of imperialism." *

The struggle against tsarism was inevitably passing over into the struggle against imperialism.

". . . for whoever overthrew tsarism had at the same time to overthrow imperialism, if his intention really was not only to smash tsarism but to extirpate it without leaving a trace. Thus the revolution against tsarism approximated to and had to grow into a revolution against imperialism, into a proletarian revolution." **

The young Lenin realized this in the early 'nineties. In the course of his struggle against the Narodniks, who did not look upon the proletariat as the most progressive revolutionary force, Lenin foresaw, in his excellent article "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight Against the Social-Democrats"*** the entire future activities of the working class in Russia, the entire future course of the revolution in Russia.

In 1894, proceeding from his Marxist analysis of the position of the workers, the peasants and other classes in Russia, Lenin expressed the conviction that:

"The Russian worker . . . at the head of all democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the *Russian proletariat* (side by side with the proletariat of all countries) *along the straight road of open political struggle towards the victorious Communist revolution.*"****

Thus, unerringly, Lenin forty-five years ago predicted the course of the development of the revolution in Russia; he pointed out the role the proletariat would have to play in that revolution; he created the theory of the socialist revolution, which is carried out not by the proletariat alone, but by the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry; he developed the theory of the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

It is clear that so vast a task required a party of a new type. Lenin devoted all his energies to creating such a party—the Party of the Bolsheviks.

The development of imperialism led to enormous changes in the whole international position. What it was that characterized this international position and what were the tasks arising out of it, Comrade Stalin has brilliantly outlined in his article "Foundations of Leninism":

"In the meantime, a new period was approaching, the period of imperialist wars and of revolutionary proletarian struggles. The old methods of struggle proved manifestly inadequate and ineffective in the face of the omnipotence of finance capital.

"It was necessary to review the whole activity and the method of work of the Second International, to drive out its philistinism, its narrow-mindedness, its political dickerings, its renegacy, social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. It was necessary to overhaul the whole armory of the Second International, to reject all that was rusty and out-of-date, to forge new weapons. Without this preliminary work, it was futile to embark upon war against capitalism. Without this work, the proletariat ran the risk of finding itself inadequately armed or even completely weaponless in future revolutionary battles.

"The honor of making a general revision and general cleansing of the Augean stables of the Second International fell to Leninism." *

The young Lenin rose up and attacked all the mortal sins of the Second Inter-

---

* Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17, International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

*** In using the term "Friends of the People," Lenin had the Narodniks, that is, the liberal Narodniks, in mind—*E. Y.*

**** V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 455. International Publishers, New York.

* Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 21-22, International Publishers, New York.

national—social-chauvinism, social-pacifism, and all kinds of opportunism.

Lenin saw in opportunism the mortal enemy of the workers' movement. He entered into struggle against it in the very first days of his political activity; against the Narodniks, the "legal Marxists," and the "Economists," a Russian edition of "Bernsteinism," the Russian representatives of the views preached by Bernstein, Herz, David, Auer and others.

The working out of the program of the party and the struggle that developed around this question on the editorial board of the *Iskra*—a struggle against the opportunism of Plekhanov, Axelrod and others—made it clear to Lenin that in this struggle he would come up against not only the Russian opportunists, but also against international "Economism."

When the first news of the disagreement between the Russian Marxists found its way into the Social-Democratic press of the Second International, the Social-Democratic press came out on the side of the opportunists.

Hence Lenin was compelled to carry on a struggle in the Second International for the formation of a group of consistently revolutionary Marxists in the Second International, and against opportunism, class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, an opportunist attitude towards a colonial policy of conquest and other forms of opportunism. In this struggle Lenin was supported by the Left elements in the Second International.

Nevertheless, the Left elements in the Second International, apart from the Bolsheviks, were never consistent in their struggle against the opportunism of the Second International. Rosa Luxemburg, for example, repeatedly sided with the Mensheviks and supported the opportunists on a whole series of questions, although people like Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht embodied the very best that was in the Second International.

"Who can doubt," asks Comrade Stalin, "that the Russian Bolsheviks did everything to urge the Left-wing Social-Democrats in the West, particularly the Left wing of German Social-Democracy, towards a rupture, towards a split with their own opportunists and centrists? It was not the fault of Lenin and of the Russian Bolsheviks that the Left-wing Social-Democrats in the West proved to be too immature to follow in the footsteps of the Russian Bolsheviks." *

Long before the imperialist war the Bolshevik Party faced the entire international workers' movement with a series of questions in an entirely new way. Thus Lenin performed a great service to the movement in posing and solving one of the most important questions of the revolution—*the question of the reserves and the allies of the proletariat.* This hinged above all on the question of the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry and on the national question.

As far back as the first revolution Lenin and Stalin worked out the Marxist attitude towards the national question. Comrade Stalin submitted a devastating criticism to the opportunist theory of the so-called Austrian school of Otto Bauer. The whole further course of the struggle has proved how right was Lenin's and Stalin's new treatment of the national question.

The Bolsheviks pursued the line of a break with opportunism in the Second International and gave evidence of this by their break with opportunism in Russia and the formation of an independent revolutionary workers' party. The question of the creation of a new, Communist, International was raised in all its magnitude in the first few days of the imperialist war.

As is well known, Lenin was arrested at the outbreak of the war in Austria and imprisoned in Novi Targ, in Galicia. It is extremely interesting that the Russian frontier police agency (as is revealed by a document of the tsarist police department) reported to the director of the police department that Lenin was in prison, and stated that it was highly desirable that Lenin should be trans-

* Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 396, Moscow edition.

ferred from the prison to Russia (it was wrongly stated in the report, it is true, that Lenin was imprisoned in Cracow). Whereupon Lieutenant-Colonel Junkovsky, at that time assistant to the Minister of the Interior, wrote to the commander, M. W. Alexeyev, on the Southwest front, the following:

"It is quite possible that Vladimir Ulyanov and the other individuals mentioned are at the moment imprisoned in Cracow; the first named of these, better known by the name of Lenin, is the best-known representative of the Social-Democratic Labor Party and has a revolutionary past dating back a number of years. He is on the police list of wanted persons. The said Ulyanov is still a member of the Central Committee of the Party, and founder of a special section inside the Party.

"Reporting the above and taking into consideration that the aforementioned individuals may, in the event of their release from prison and their remaining in the theater of war, exercise the most harmful influence on individuals with whom they come into contact by propagating revolutionary ideas, I have the honor to request your Excellency not to neglect to issue a warrant against the aforementioned individuals and to arrange for them to be handed over to the Commandant of Petrograd." *

One can imagine what would have happened to Lenin had the tsarist government succeeded, at the very beginning of the war, in taking him prisoner! He would undoubtedly have been killed, for the tsarist government had no greater enemy than Lenin. It is not without reason that as early as the beginning of the century the Colonel of the tsarist gendarmerie, Subatov, demanded that Lenin be killed because he was the most dangerous revolutionary in Russia.

From the very first days of the imperialist war Lenin struggled for the organization of a Communist International. He succeeded in finding his way to Berne in Switzerland, and this city now became a revolutionary center, in which Lenin once more renewed contacts with the various organizations of the working class, which had been broken by the war.

The war, with its barbed-wire entanglements and battle fronts, split Europe from end to end; it was no less split by the chauvinist activities of the traitors to the cause of the working class, the leaders of the Second International. Kautsky, Vandervelde and others maintained that this was unavoidable, that the International was an "instrument of peace," which ceased to function in time of war. Once the war was over, they would all forgive each other their opportunist sins, the leaders of the Second International would once again sit down together and reestablish the unity of the working class. The Centrists preached the reestablishment of the Second International.

Lenin issue a warning against this danger:

"The slogan of 'simply' reestablishing the International is incorrect (for the danger of a spineless conciliatory resolution along the line of Kautsky and Vandervelde is very, very great!)" *

Only a few organizations of the working class remained true to internationalism, and among these was, first and foremost, the organization led by the Bolsheviks in Russia. Proudly Lenin declared:

"Notwithstanding the tenfold increased oppression of the tsarist government, our comrade workers in Russia are already publishing their first illegal appeals against the war, doing their duty by democracy and by the International." **

---

* Police Department O.O.; 1914, Document No. 28, Vol. II, p. 103. The correspondence is preserved in the State Archives of the Revolution, and its publication in the periodical *Krasni Archiev* is in preparation. It will appear in the near future.—*E. Y.*

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 74, International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*, p. 79.

The Centrists sought either to suppress the fact of the collapse of the Second International or to cloak it with democratic phrases. Lenin saw in this an extremely grave danger and said:

"On the contrary, it is necessary openly to recognize this collapse and understand its causes in order to be able to build a new, a more lasting socialist unification of the workers of all countries."*

But the treacherous opportunists justified their behavior on the pretext that their organizations would be outlawed and driven into illegality if they declared themselves against the war, if they voted against war credits, in short, if they fought against chauvinism. This was Lenin's answer to these opportunists:

"Let the opportunists 'save' the legal organizations at the price of betraying their convictions; the revolutionary Social-Democrats will utilize the organizational habits and connections of the working class to organize illegal forms of organization befitting an epoch of crisis, in order to fight for socialism and to unite the workers, not with the chauvinist bourgeoisie of their respective countries, but with the workers of all countries. The proletarian International has not perished and will not perish. The working masses will overcome all obstacles and create a new International."**

The mission of the Second International was ended. At the decisive moment it proved itself a pitiable plaything in the hands of imperialism. It betrayed the proletariat. That was why there could be no question of *reestablishing* it in a "cleansed" state, as Trotsky and the other Centrists proposed. The only issue now was the establishment of a Third International, the tasks of which were enormous precisely at this difficult period of the imperialist war.

"The Third International is confronted with the task of organizing the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary onslaught on the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power, for the victory of socialism."*

To take the first step, Lenin convened a conference of the Bolshevik groups abroad. It took place in Berne on February 27, 1915. At this conference Bukharin, Pyatakov, Krylenko and other anti-Leninists, who had penetrated the Party, opposed Lenin's standpoint. In common with the traitor Zinoviev they championed a plan for the reestablishment of the old International, gaining the support of Trotsky and his ilk.

"It would be a harmful illusion to restore a real Socialist International without drawing a clear line of organizational demarcation between real socialists and opportunists," wrote Lenin.

"The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party must support all and every international and revolutionary mass action of the proletariat; it must strive to bring together all anti-chauvinist elements of the International."**

Lenin let no opportunity slip to express himself against such attempts at reunion, which he regarded as extremely harmful. In a letter to A. M. Kollontai, Lenin wrote:

"Roland-Holst, as well as Rakovsky (have you seen his French pamphlet?), and Trotsky, too, are in my judgment *all* most harmful 'Kautskyists,' inasmuch as they are all, in one form or another, for unity with the opportunists, in one form or another they are embellishing opportunism, they all (each in his way) advance eclecticism instead of revolutionary Marxism."***

In February, 1915, on the initiative of Vandervelde, a conference of the Social-Democratic organizations of the Entente countries (England, France, Belgium) was held in London. The Social-Revolutionaries (of Russia) also participated in this conference.

Comrade Maximovitch (M. M. Litvinov) had received instructions from

---

* *Ibid.*, p. 80.
** *Ibid.*, p. 82.

* *Ibid.*, p. 89.
** *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 209.

the Bolsheviks to read a declaration at this conference. Nevertheless the opportunists refused to allow Comrade Litvinov to read this declaration and prevented him from speaking by continuous interruptions.

In this declaration the Bolsheviks called upon Vandervelde, Guesde and Sembat to resign from the bourgeois governments of Belgium and France, demanded the rupture of the bloc of the Socialists with the bourgeoisie, the discontinuance of the policy of flirting with tsarism and the renewal of support for the struggle against tsarism; and also a declaration that, in accordance with the resolution of the Basle Congress, a hand be held out to the revolutionary Social-Democrats of Germany and Austria who had answered the declaration of war by organizing propaganda in favor of revolutionary action.

"The workers of Russia extend their comradely hand to the Socialists who act like Karl Liebknecht, like the Socialists of Serbia and Italy, like the British comrades from the Independent Labor Party, and some members of the British Socialist Party. . . .

"It is to this road that we call you, to the road of socialism. Down with chauvinism which destroys the proletarian cause! Long live international socialism!"*

Lenin and Stalin had previously clearly and unequivocally expressed their attitude to the war, and towards the creation of a new Communist International.

On the outbreak of war Comrade Stalin was still in exile, in far-off Turukhansk. After the declaration of war Comrade Stalin organized a meeting of some members of the Central Committee who were in exile, and at this meeting a resolution was adopted fully supporting a complete break with social-chauvinism, and a policy of consistent internationalism.

In September, 1914, the Central Committee issued a manifesto drawn up by Lenin, which contained the watchword:

"Long live the international brotherhood of the workers united against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries!

"Long live a proletarian International free from opportunism!"*

This activity on the part of Lenin and the Bolsheviks at first found echo only in little groups among the Social-Democrats and isolated leaders of the workers' movement. There is no doubt that in the countries of Western Europe Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin adopted a most militant viewpoint in so far as the preservation of the international interests of the proletariat was concerned. It required courage to open battle against social-chauvinism in Germany, where almost all the leaders of Social-Democracy had hastened to the aid of the Kaiser. It required courage on the part of Karl Liebknecht to vote against war credits in December, 1914, and March, 1915. It required the courage of a true proletarian revolutionary, like Karl Liebknecht, to declare: "The chief enemy is in our own country."

At this moment, so critical for the workers' movement, Lenin wished to bring together those comrades who, like Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, had remained loyal to the revolution. It was necessary carefully to select and to unite the international forces, even though they might not always be consistent.

The first attempt to bring together such international forces, the first step on the path towards the Third International, was the International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald in September, 1915. Together with Lenin and under his leadership, the Bolsheviks devoted all their energy to secure the participation at this conference of all important representatives of true internationalism from various countries.

However, about two-thirds of the participants in this conference—nineteen out of thirty-one—were Left Centrist and Centrist elements, who were far from being consistent internationalists.

* *Ibid.*, p. 144.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

That is the reason why the resolutions of this conference were extremely inconsistent.

The conference rejected Lenin's slogan of "converting the imperialist war into a civil war," and also the slogan of the defeat of "one's own" government in the imperialist war. It refused to acknowledge the necessity for a complete break with the social-patriots and failed to express agreement with the organization of a new, Communist, International.

Lenin continued to be in the minority. Nonetheless, Lenin realized and emphasized the incontrovertible success of the Bolshevik line.

In the article "The First Step," he writes:

"For the success of our line is undoubted. Compare the facts: In September, 1914, the manifesto of our Central Committee . . . appears to be almost unique. In January, 1915, an international women's conference adopts a miserable pacifist resolution which is blindly followed by the Organization Committee. In September, 1915, we consolidate ourselves into a whole group of the international Left wing. We promulgate our tactics; we express a number of our fundamental ideas in a common manifesto; we participate in the formation of an I.S.C. (International Socialist Commission), *i.e.*, practically a new International Socialist Bureau against the wish of the old one, and on the basis of the manifesto which directly condemns the tactics of the latter."*

The fact that the conference rejected the proposal of the Bolsheviks by no means discouraged Lenin. The Bolsheviks became extremely active after the conference and propagated their views, which they had submitted to the conference, in two documents: First, *The World War and the Tasks of Social-Democracy*, and second, *The Draft of a Manifesto.*

It was precisely on the basis of the views put forward in these documents, that the "Zimmerwald Left" was formed, to which Lenin attributed a great importance, despite the fact that there were elements in it who were far from being consistent and who were seriously criticized by Lenin and the Bolsheviks; the views of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, in particular, were criticized.

Lenin pointed out the inconsistency of the German Left and attacked it because of its fear of a resolute break with opportunism. But Lenin, who criticized the mistakes of the German Left, also recognized its great services to the movement. He emphasized that the German Left-wingers—

". . . have succeeded, *although* they stood alone, in *taking upon themselves* the publication of illegal leaflets and the struggle against Kautskyism. They will know how to continue to tread the right path."*

About this time Lenin administered a stern rebuke to Radek, Bukharin and Pyatakov in a series of articles and brochures, and laid bare the complete lack of Marxism in their views. Pyatakov's view Lenin bluntly termed a "caricature of Marxism":

"The only *correct* thing in his work—if there are no mistakes in the figures—is a note giving the statistics with regard to the banks. Everything else is an inextricable tangle of nonsense. . . ."**

In April, 1916, the second International Socialist Conference met (April 24-30, 1916, in Kienthal). It undoubtedly exhibited a considerable strengthening of the Bolshevik internationalist elements. Of 43 delegates at the conference twelve came out as definitely on the side of the Left, while in the voting on individual questions a section of the vacillating elements also stood by them. Under the influence of Bolshevik criticism some Centrist elements moved towards the Left. Compared with the first Zimmerwald conference the second undoubtedly took a step forward. Yet the necessary unity could not be obtained at this conference either.

---

* *Ibid.*, pp. 344-45.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 228.

** *Ibid.*, p. 287.

Shortly before the revolution in Russia Lenin learned that on May 12, 1917, a Congress of Young Socialists was being called in Sweden, at which a new party was to be founded in accordance with "Zimmerwald principles."

Enraged, Lenin wrote a letter to Comrade A. M. Kollontai:

"I must confess that this news disturbs and exasperates me very much. For 'Zimmerwald' has obviously gone bankrupt, and a good name is now once again serving to cloak rottenness. The Zimmerwald majority—represented by Turati and Co., Kautsky with Ledebour, Merrheim—has gone over *in a body* into the camp of the social-pacifism which was so solemnly (and so uselessly!) condemned in Kienthal. The manifesto of Kautsky and Co. of January 7, 1917, a series of resolutions of the Italian Socialist Party, the resolution of Merrheim-Jouhaux and Longuet-Bourderon (in addition to that of Raffin-Dugens *in agreement* with Renaudel)—do they not all represent the bankruptcy of Zimmerwald? And the Zimmerwald 'center' R. Grimm, who on January 7, 1917, entered into an alliance with the social-patriots of Switzerland for a struggle against the Lefts! ! Grimm, who abuses the social-patriots of *all* countries, *except* those of Switzerland, whom he *cloaks!* I am beside myself with anger at these scoundrels: abhorrent to hear them or anything about them; still more abhorrent to think of collaborating with them. A comedy!"*

When Lenin received the first news of the revolution in Russia in February, 1917, he immediately raised the question of the Communist International. Even while he was still abroad Lenin wrote:

"*Never again* along the lines of the Second International! *Never again* with Kautsky! By all means *a more revolutionary* program and more revolutionary tactics (K. Liebknecht, the American Socialist Labor Party, the Dutch Marxists, etc., show elements of such program and tactics), and by all means a combination of legal and illegal work." *

Some days later Lenin returns to this question. He expresses the fear lest the Bolsheviks might possibly let themselves be carried away by attempts on the part of the Centrists at a union. He writes:

"I am afraid that the epidemic of 'sheer' enthusiasm may now spread in Petrograd, without a systematic effort towards the creation of a party of a *new* type, which must *by no means* resemble those of the Second International." **

In the famous *April Theses* Lenin formulated this task precisely:

"Rebuilding the International;
"Taking the initiative in the creation of a revolutionary International, an International against the social-chauvinists and against the 'center.'" ***

In the article "On the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" Lenin answered those who regarded a union in accordance with "Zimmerwald principles" as possible. The question was whether the Bolsheviks should remain in this Zimmerwald or break with it. Zinoviev was against the formation of a new International and was in favor of remaining in this Zimmerwald union; Lenin answered these disguised social-chauvinists in the following terms:

"We can stand no longer this Zimmerwald mire. We must not, on account of the Zimmerwald 'Kautskians,' remain more or less allied with the chauvinist International of the Plekhanovs and Scheidemanns. We must break with this International immediately. We ought to remain in Zimmerwald only to gather information.

"It is precisely we who must found, right now, without delay, a new, revolutionary, proletarian International, or rather, not to fear to acknowledge publicly that this new International is already established and working." ****

---

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 510, International Publishers, New York.

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, Part I, p. 20.
** *Ibid.*, p. 22.
*** *Ibid.*, pp. 108-09.
**** *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Lenin was particularly firm on this point and emphasized the fact that the conditions in Russia were now unusually favorable for proceeding with the task of creating a new International. Nowhere at that time, in any country, was there such freedom as in Russia, and Lenin appealed to the workers to take advantage of this freedom:

". . . not to support the bourgeoisie or bourgeois 'revolutionary defensism,' but to organize a Third International, bold and honest and proletarian, the kind which Liebknecht would have, an International which will set its face boldly against all traitors, all social-chauvinists and the vacillating people of the 'center.' "*

Lenin did not imagine that this International would immediately become a mass organization in every country. He knew that it required a struggle, stubborn work in winning over the masses, to form such an all-inclusive, mass Communist International. But only people who had completely broken with social-chauvinism could create such an International. In the article "Political Parties in Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat" Lenin characterized the attitude of the various parties towards the question of the International and outlined the standpoint of the Bolsheviks in the following terms:

"The peoples need only such an International as unites really revolutionary workers capable of putting an and to the awful and criminal slaughter, capable of delivering humanity from the yoke of capitalism. Only men (groups, parties, etc.), like the German Socialist Karl Liebknecht, now in prison, only people who will tirelessly struggle against their own government, their own bourgeoisie, their own social-chauvinists, and their own 'center,' can and must immediately establish that International which is necessary for the peoples." **

In the Bolshevik Party strikebreakers of the stamp of Zinoviev and Kamenev considered it essential to maintain contact with the social-chauvinists as long as possible. When in August, 1917, another conference of the Socialists was held, the renegade Kamenev, in defiance of Party discipline, declared at the meetin of the Central Executive Committee that the Bolsheviks must take part in the conference. Lenin condemned this attitude in decisive terms. He declared that this attitude "must inevitable call forth the opposition of those Bolsheviks who have remained loyal to their party and their principles," * for in Stockholm the people were meeting to come to a compromise, to bargain with the imperialists:

"Not the revolutionary banner, but the banner of petty huckstering, of compromises, of an amnesty for the social-imperialists, of negotiations of bankers with regard to the division of annexations—this is the banner that is beginning to float over Stockholm.

"It cannot be tolerated that the party of the internationalists, which bears the responsibility for revolutionary internationalism before the whole world, should compromise itself by coquetting with the machinations of the Russian and German social-imperialists, with the machinations of the ministers of the bourgeois imperialist government, of Chernov, Skobelev and Co.

"We have resolved to create the Third International. We must carry through our resolve despite all the difficulties. Not a step backwards, towards agreements with the social-imperialists and the renegade Socialists." **

Lenin termed the Stockholm Conference a comedy of the social-chauvinists, on whom the Bolsheviks must turn their backs, and with regard to whom they must open the eyes of the masses, in order to point out to them the true path of the struggle.

In connection with this Stockholm conference Lenin declared:

"We must leave Zimmerwald *at once.*

---

* *Ibid.*, p. 153.
** *Ibid.*, p. 166.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 97.
** *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

In leaving the rotten Zimmerwald we must, at the plenary session of September 3, 1917, immediately resolve: *'We shall convene a conference of the Left.'"**

Shortly before the October Revolution Lenin raised the question of the examination of the Party program more concretely. He had, as is well known, broached this question in the *April Theses.* In the article on this question he pointed out that in the near future it would scarcely be possible to hold a great congress, a great conference of the revolutionary internationalist parties of the various countries, but that advantage must be taken of the relative freedom which existed at that time in Russia to hold Congresses of Internationalists:

"That is why we must without fail take the initiative. That is our express duty as internationalists." **

* * *

The socialist October Revolution introduced a new era of socialism and created an entirely new international position. For the first time in the history of mankind, the workers and poor peasants seized power in a vast country in which a few months before the tsarist government had ruled. For the first time the dictatorship of the proletariat was made a reality on a sixth of the earth's land surface, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, who since the beginning of their political activity had taken their stand on revolutionary Marxism.

The vast educational work in internationalism that the Party of the Bolsheviks had carried out under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin bore its fruit. The Party of the Bolsheviks took its stand on the firm basis of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. It was inspired by the desire to fulfill the great hopes of Marx and Engels—to create the new, Communist, International. The revolution gave the impetus to the development of the revolutionary movement in all countries of the world and accelerated the movement of the masses towards the Left.

The Party of the working class was confronted with the vast task of the defense of the socialist fatherland. From the time of the October Revolution we became the defenders of the socialist fatherland.

The Party carried on an extremely violent struggle against the treacherous provocative policy of the Trotskyists and "Left Communists," who sought to frustrate the defense of the socialist fatherland.

Not for a moment did the Party forget its international tasks. In March, 1918, at its Seventh Party Congress, the Party of the Bolsheviks finally changed its name and was now no longer called the Social-Democratic Party, but the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks)—R.C.P. (B.). This was the first Communist Party. Soon afterwards other Communist Parties came into being: in August, 1918, in Finland; in November, 1918, in Austria and in Hungary; in December, 1918, in Poland and in Germany.

In his reply to the renegade Kautsky Lenin pointed out that the new Communist International had already been founded and that by founding it Bolshevism had perform a great service, for Bolshevism had not only pointed out the correct path towards salvation from the terrors of war and imperialism, but had also shown that: *"Bolshevism can serve as a model of tactics for all."*

"Bolshevism has vanquished the old, decayed International of the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, the Renaudels and Longuets, the Hendersons and the MacDonalds, who henceforth will be treading on each other's heels, dreaming about 'unity' and trying to revive a corpse. Bolshevism has *created* the ideological and tactical foundations of a Third International, which will take into consideration both the gains of the peaceful epoch and the experience of the *epoch of revolution, which has now begun.*

"Bolshevism has popularized through-

---

* *Ibid.*, p. 401.
** *Ibid.*, p. 161.

out the world the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' has translated these words from the Latin, first into Russian, and then into *all* the languages of the world, and has shown by the living example of the *Soviet government* that the workers and poorest peasantry, *even* of a backward country, even with the least experience, education and habits of organization, *have been able* for a whole year, amidst gigantic difficulties and amidst the struggle against the exploiters (who were supported by the bourgeoisie of the *whole* world) to maintain the power of the toilers, to create a democracy that is immeasurably higher and broader than all previous democracies of the world and to *begin*, with the aid of the creative ability of tens of millions of workers and peasants, the practical realization of socialism."*

Lenin attached particularly great importance to the foundation of the Communist Party of Germany as a factor contributing towards the ultimate formation of the Communist International. In his "Letter to the Workers of Europe and America," he wrote:

"When the German Spartacus League, with leaders of such world-wide renown, such loyal adherents of the working class as Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Franz Mehring, finally broke off relations with Socialists of the stamp of a Scheidemann and a Südekum, with those social-chauvinists (who are Socialists in word, chauvinists in deed) who have for ever sullied themselves by their alliance with predatory, imperialist, bourgeois Germany and Wilhelm II —when the Spartacus League called itself 'Communist Party of Germany,' then the *foundation* of the really proletarian, really internationalist, really revolutionary Third International, the Communist International, became a fact. Formally this foundation has not been carried out, but in practice the Third International already exists." **

In January, 1918, a conference of representatives of the Socialist Parties who were in favor of a new Communist International was held in Petrograd by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. This Congress elected an International Bureau. At the same time a federation of the foreign groups of the internationalists, which comprised the internationalist prisoners of war, was created by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia. This organization performed tremendous work in the Bolshevik education of the internationalist prisoners of war who were now returning to their native countries and played a great role in the formation of the Communist Parties in the individual countries of Europe.

At the beginning of 1919 a meeting of the foreign groups was held in Moscow under the leadership of Lenin. At this meeting an appeal to thirty-nine Communist and Left Socialist Parties and groups was decided upon. In this appeal, signed by eight organizations, the program and the principles of the organization of the Communist International were envisaged.

And on March 2, 1919, the First Congress of the Communist International was opened in Moscow.

In the article "What Has Been Gained and Set Down in Black and White" Lenin said that:

". . . by the foundation of the Communist International on March 2, 1919, in Moscow, it was laid down in black and white what conquests have been made not only by the proletarian masses of the whole of Russia, but also by the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Finnish, Swiss, in a word, international, proletarian masses."*

Lenin was profoundly convinced that the foundation of the Communist International would help the international workers' movement to find the new way.

"The formation of the Communist International," wrote Lenin, "opened the door to the international Soviet Repub-

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 183.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII, p. 495-96, Russian edition.

** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 25, Russian edition.

lic, to the international victory of socialism."*

This gigantic labor of the creation of the Communist International stands to the credit of the Bolshevik Party, its organizers and leaders of genius, Lenin and Stalin.

The Communist International has become, in the twenty years of its existence, a great force. Its importance lies in the fact that it is facilitating the birth of the new society. It points out to the workers of the whole world the only path to their liberation—the path of socialist revolution, of proletarian dictatorship.

In his article "The Third International and Its Place in History" Lenin summed up the results of the activities of the three Internationals:

"The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

"The Second International marked the epoch in which the soil was prepared for a broad, mass, widespread movement in a number of countries.

"The Third International gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, purged it of its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun* to effect the dictatorship of the proletariat."*

Almost two decades have passed since Lenin wrote these lines. Throughout the world the Communist Parties play a great role in the life of the peoples of all countries. Lenin wrote with regard to the teachings of Marx that they "are omnipotent, for they are right." These teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin have now become the possession of the millions. They daily become a greater and greater force, which will transform the world. And in this great struggle for the new world—the world which will not know the exploitation of man by man—it was, is and will be the flag of the Communist International, the flag of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, which will lead to the ultimate victory of communism.

---

* *Ibid.*, p. 14.

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol X, p. 31.

RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES

"The war has created a new situation with regard to the relations between countries. It has enveloped them in an atmosphere of alarm and uncertainty. By undermining the post-war peace regime and overriding the elementary principles of international law, it has cast doubt on the value of international treaties and obligations. Pacifism and disarmament schemes are dead and buried. Feverish arming has taken their place. Everybody is arming, small states and big states, including primarily those which practise the policy of non-intervention.

"Nobody believes any longer in the unctuous speeches which claim that the Munich concessions to the aggressors and the Munich agreement opened a new era of 'appeasement.' They are disbelieved even by the signatories to the Munich agreement, Britain and France, which are increasing their armaments no less than other countries."—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 15-16.

Capitalism on the Road to Doom

BY E. VARGA

THE twenty years which have passed since the foundation by Lenin of the Communist International have been far richer in events than any similar period throughout the whole history of mankind.

The bourgeoisie, whose class rule has historically become effete and which is continuously being reminded of its inevitable end by the existence and expansion of the new socialist order in the Soviet Union, is employing every possible means in order artificially to prolong its domination. It corrupts certain upper strata of the working class, and deceives the working class—with the aid of certain corrupt working-class leaders—into believing in the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. By means of its fascist lackeys, it has developed, on the one hand, a whole system of "anti-capitalist" demagogy, and, on the other, of the most brutal forms of terrorism. No method is too base, if it helps the bourgeoisie to the least extent in prolonging its obsolete dominance.

But the internal laws of capitalism are stronger than any political maneuvers of the bourgeoisie. In the present period of the general crisis of capitalism, the action of these laws is ever more throughly undermining the foundations of the rule of the bourgeoisie, thus continually reducing the number of people who are able to live contentedly under the capitalist system; and tending repeatedly to kindle imperialist wars, colonial revolt and social revolutions.

* * *

Lenin predicted that the world war would bring forth the proletarian revolution.

"In the years 1914-1916 the revolution was on the order of the day, hidden in the womb of war, springing from the war." (Lenin, Vol. XIX, p. 225, German ed.)

When Lenin gathered together in Moscow the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat, in order to establish the Communist International, it appeared as though the victory of the proletarian revolution was about to take place in other European countries, in direct connection with the Russian Revolution. This was the period of the armed struggle of the German revolutionary advance guard in Berlin, of the German Red Army in the Ruhr district, and of the Soviet governments in Bavaria and Hungary. It was a period of revolutionary crisis in a number of countries. The bourgeoisie's machinery of authority had broken down in all countries, the discipline of the armies had been undermined,* and the discontent of the masses, as a result of the frightful sacrifices entailed by the war, had grown to an enormous extent.

It was in Germany that the decisive factor lay. The dominion of the Ger-

* When the Hungarian Soviet government was formed in March, 1919, there was no army in existence. Not far from Budapest, however, was located a French army of 70,000 men. This force would have been able to overrun Soviet Hungary within a few days. But the French army command feared that an order to attack would not be obeyed, and therefore preferred to isolate the army from any contact whatever with Soviet Hungary.

man bourgeoisie was greatly endangered. But the leaders of Social-Democracy rushed to its assistance. They entered the government, and, together with the bourgeoisie, carried through a big maneuver. Those traditional damands of the Social-Democratic workers which were consistent with the maintenance of the domination of the bourgeoisie—such as universal, equal and secret suffrage, freedom of press and assembly, the eight-hour day, recognition of trade unions, and so on—were satisfied.

But the material basis of bourgeois rule—the private ownership of the means of production—was unmolested. "Socialization is going forward!" stated the placards everywhere. The "Socialization Commission" held innumerable sittings, issued huge volumes—but not a finger was laid upon the property of the bourgeoisie. Far more that what the proletariat gained through the new social and political legislation was taken away from it by the bourgeoisie by a reduction in real wages through inflation, because of the speedy devaluation of the mark.

Relying upon the White-Guard army, organized by Noske, the bourgeoisie defeated in sectional conflicts the revolutionary vanguard of the German proletariat, after the Social-Democratic leaders had succeeded in separating this vanguard from the main mass of the proletariat and dividing the working class. After each defeat of this vanguard, some of the concessions made by the bourgeoisie to the working class at the highest point of the revolutionary crisis were again withdrawn.

Thus passed the revolutionary crisis in Germany and in all Europe. The bourgeoisie was enabled once more to consolidate its rule, primarily because there was a lack then of Bolshevik Parties, sufficiently developed ideologically and organizationally, which would have been capable of attaching the main masses of the workers to the movement of the vanguard and of gaining the working peasantry as an ally.

In spite of this, however, the bourgeoisie—despite the "war of fourteen nations"—was unable to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. Hungry and frozen, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union defeated in heroic struggle the White-Guard armies which were supported by the bourgeoisie of the entire world. And the proletariat of the whole world—although not yet ready to overthrow their own ruling classes—helped in every possible way to protect the proletarian power of the Soviet Union.

After this there ensued the *temporary* stabilization of capitalism in the bourgeois world, and the *conclusive* stabilization of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

The stabilization of capitalism could not be otherwise than temporary. The foundations upon which this stabilization arose were extremely weak, of a transient nature, and self-contradictory. The *economic* basis was the rapid overcoming of the first post-war crisis of 1920-1921, and the temporary expansion of the capitalist market due to the reconstruction of war-devastated areas, the restocking of supplies, and so on. The external *political* basis was the temporary weakness of the vanquished and disarmed states, which enabled the victorious states to come to an agreement among themselves for the partition of the world. They agreed each to respect the others' colonial empires. The Versailles system in Europe, and the Washington agreement on China, were designed to consolidate the existing relationships of the powers. The *internal-political* basis was the defeat of the proletariat in the revolutionary crisis and the division of the working class.

The stabilization of capitalism led to certain illusions among the bourgeoisie, and also among the working class. The cyclical boom—particularly that in American industry in the period 1924 to 1929—was assumed to be "permanent prosperity." The League of Nations—which was established as an instrument to perpetuate the partition of the world which had resulted from the first world war—was supposed to guarantee "permanent peace." There was much talk of a "democratic-pacifist era." Karl Kaut-

sky's "theory" regarding a period of peaceful super-imperialism seemed to be confirmed. Both the significance and the duration of the stabilization were heavily overestimated.

Provided with such a basis, the opportunism of the Second International became even more marked. Even within the Communist International itself there arose certain Right opportunist elements, relying chiefly upon Bukharin's completely opportunist and treacherous theory of the durability of the stabilization of capitalism, of a forthcoming period of "organized capitalism"—a concept which essentially agreed with Kautsky's "theory" of super-imperialism.

But this stabilization of capitalism rested upon extremely feeble foundations. The internal laws of motion of capitalism perforce undermined these foundations. It became apparent that the continually sharpening contradiction between social production and private appropriation had rendered capitalism incapable of making full use of the means of production which it had itself created;* that a considerable section of the apparatus of production and, in close relationship thereto, a considerable portion of the forces of labor, were unused, even in a boom period; that uneven development was undermining the existing partition of the world, which had arisen as the result of the World War; that the opportunists of the Second International and of the Rights in the Communist International did not succeed in paralyzing for long the revolutionary struggle of the working class against the capitalist system; and that the swiftly progressing construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, in itself alone, rendered impossible any durable stabilization of capitalism. Thus was the foundation of stabilization increasingly undermined and shaken through the action of the internal laws of capitalism.*

The already deeply unsettled stabilization of capitalism came to an end in 1929 by means of the world economic crisis. This, the most serious of all crises so far, swept away the illusions regarding "permanent prosperity." Industrial production in the capitalist world fell by about one-half. The number of unemployed throughout the world rose into tens of millions. The prices of non-monopolist goods fell sharply. The agrarian crisis which, ever since the end of the World War, has become increasingly acute and has oppressed the peasantry of the bourgeois world with ever greater weight, at that time sharpened rapidly and led to the mass ruin of the agrarian and colonial countries. While millions of people were starving, homeless, suffering from cold, the bourgeoisie destroyed huge quantities of foodstuffs and goods of every kind, in order to arrest the fall of prices.

Key institutions of capitalist economy, such as big banks and monopolies, collapsed, states became bankrupt, the currency of all countries was devaluated. Into this vortex was whirled together everything which, in the view of the opportunists during the period of capitalist stabilization, had appeared to be solidly based for decades to come. Until this very day, the economy of the capitalist world has been unable to recover from

---

* The inability of capitalism to make full use of the forces of production, the tendency to decay, are best shown in the following figures. The average annual increase of industrial production in the capitalist world in percentages was as follows:

Between 1870 and 1890 6.3 per cent, between 1890 and 1913 5.8 per cent, between 1913 and 1929 3.0 per cent, between 1929 and 1937 0.4 per cent.

* The theses of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International stated correctly:

"The period inevitably leads through a further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization to a renewed disturbance of capitalist stabilization and to the acute sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism."

It is well known that it was Comrade Stalin who, opposing Bukharin's opportunist conception of stabilization, pointed out the sole correct Marxist way.

this devastation, and most likely will never recover.

The crisis led to a new sharpening of imperialist antagonisms, and thus to an end, also, of the stabilization of the international situation. The artificial system of reparations payments, scheduled for over fifty-eight years, and of the inter-Allied debts, was summarily swept aside by the outbreak of the credit crisis in Germany.

In the struggle for the chronically contracted markets, the bourgeoisie of each country strove to monopolize for itself "its own" internal market, as well as the markets of its colonies and of dependent countries, while simultaneously disposing of goods, unsalable at home, upon the foreign markets by means of systematic dumping. Thus, the world market is tending more and more to disintegrate into a number of single national markets, each isolating itself from the other—together, of course, with its colonial auxiliaries. Under such circumstances, the colonies—upon which the finance oligarchy shifts a great part of the burdens of the crisis—become of increasing importance to the imperialist countries. Thus there is a growing incentive towards a violent repartition of the world, which began, in actual fact, with the invasion of Manchuria by Japan.

The stabilization in the sphere of home affairs—the temporary flagging of the class struggle—is likewise at an end. The full burden of the crisis falls upon the working class. Apart from unemployment, reductions in wages and the new form of "crisis rationalization"—through the raising, not of productivity but of the intensity of labor—fall heavily upon the considerably lessened section of the working class which is still employed.

Discontent with the capitalist system is rapidly growing. The Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions no longer afford sufficient protection to the bourgeoisie. The influence of the Communist Party is growing while that of the reformists is lessening. Therefore, the bourgeoisie is seeking new support—all the more so because the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, in addition to the working class, under the blows of the crisis is beginning to rebel. Thus the big bourgeoisie is turning more and more toward fascism.

With the slogan of "a national-socialist revolution," of a struggle against "profiteering" capital and against large-scale land-owners; by demagogic promises to all sections of the population, and by stirring-up chauvinistic, anti-Semitic and blood-lusting feelings among the masses, fascism rallies support for safeguarding bourgeois domination.

With the slogan of "the abrogation of the class struggle," the fascist terrorists attack the revolutionary workers—in other words, carry on an armed class struggle in the interest of large-scale capitalism. Once it had secured power, fascism in the most cynical manner repudiated its former promises, and set up a system of government in which the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and most imperialist section of the bourgeoisie reigns supreme. It destroyed all human rights, all the achievements of the nineteenth century, destroyed all legal organizations of the working class and plunged Germany back into the barbarism of the Middle Ages.

The prerequisite condition for a successful struggle against the further advance of fascism is to overcome the divisions in the working class. The policy of the united front, set forth by Lenin as early as in 1921, was raised to the importance of the main line of policy of the Communist Parties, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The unification of the trade unions, the establishment of a united front between Communist and Socialist Parties, the establishment of a broad anti-fascist people's front, and the extension of this movement to all countries—such are the products of this policy.

The struggle between reaction and democracy is closely bound up with the second imperialist war which the bloc of

fascist aggressors—with their attacks upon China, Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Spain—are carrying on, "from Gibraltar to Shanghai," with the objective of a repartition of the world. The fascist aggressors attack the weaker countries one after the other. The governments of the so-called democratic powers allow a free hand to this policy of brute force, or, as in the case of Czechoslovakia, even assist the fascist aggressors against their democratic victims.

The origin of this attitude of the ruling classes of the so-called democratic powers can by no means be attributed to any superior force of the fascist powers. The aggressors are threatened with suffocation beneath the burden of their armaments. They have been able to rearm only by the mobilization of every conceivable resource, by the reconstitution of their entire economy on a war basis; by the deterioration of their productive apparatus, as they are unable to replace loss occasioned by the rapid wear-and tear; and by the consumption of all reserve stocks and the loss of gold reserves. As contrasted with this, the economic and moral resources of the democratic powers—the United States, Great Britain and France—are incomparably greater.

Therefore, when the governments of the so-called democratic powers—Great Britain and France—not only deliberately retreat before the fascist aggressors but even aid them against weaker countries—and thus betray their own peoples—it is not because they are confronted by any "superiority" on the part of the fascist powers.

On the contrary, the fascist aggressors are not only weaker economically, but also morally—because of the hatred of the masses of the people. The fascist regime in Germany has in opposition to itself the Communist and Socialist workers—practically the entire working class in fact—the overwhelming majority of the peasantry, the Catholic and Protestant churches, and sections of the old bureaucracy. In truth, it stands in conflict with the whole people. A war with an opponent of equal strength would undoubtedly lead to defeat and the collapse of fascism. It is for this reason that the German army generals repeatedly caution Hitler against carrying on a policy of adventure.

But it is precisely because the fascist regime in Germany and Italy is internally decaying, and, because of serious opposition, is exposed to extreme danger, that the Chamberlains and Halifaxes, the Bonnets and the Flandins, desire to avoid, at any cost, by means of continual concessions and abasement, any genuine resistance to the fascist aggressors.

For fascism, as historically the last form of bourgeois rule, is precious to the reactionaries of all countries. Anxiously they ask themselves whether the downfall of the fascist form of the dictatorship of the most reactionary section of the upper bourgeoisie might not lead to the eclipse of bourgeois rule. Also, the reactionary upper bourgeoisie of the democratic countries see in fascism that form of government that they themselves are striving for, in their struggle against the working class in their own countries. Today, fascism plays the part of international gendarme against the working classes of all capitalist countries.

The war alliance of the fascist aggressors is disguised in the form of an "Anti-Comintern Pact." Reactionary politicians of Great Britain and France are hoping to be able, by means of concessions, to divert the attention of the armies of fascist Germany and fascist Italy from themselves to the Soviet Union. For the existence of the Soviet Union and the flourishing of socialism fill the bourgeoisie of the entire world with fear and horror. They can perceive but one remedy for this: an armed crusade against the Soviet Union.

The peculiarity of the present situation exists in the fact that—in contrast to the first imperialist war—the front does not run along the borders of the countries in conflict, but right through the heart of all countries. The fascist aggressors have their allies in the democratic countries: such as Chamberlain

and Halifax in Great Britain, Bonnet, Flandin and Doriot in France, Beran in Czechoslovakia, Wan Ting-wei in China, and so on. On the other hand, the democratic countries and the Soviet Union possess strong allies in the countries of the fascist aggressors—namely, the wide masses of the working people. It is true that these cannot yet so openly oppose fascism as Doriot and Flandin can espouse it, but their mass basis is incomparably broader and, in the decisive moment, their power will strike the fascist tyrants with full force. The international character of the struggle between fascism and democracy, between reaction and progress, was made clearly manifest in the aid supplied to the Spanish people in its struggle to defend its independence, by the heroes of all progressive parties and of all countries, who volunteered for the International Brigades.

Thus we see that at present, twenty years after the founding of the Communist International, the situation of the capitalist world is similar in many respects, and different in many others, to the situation existing then.

The Soviet Union, for example, the fortress of the international revolutionary proletariat, is very much more powerful. It is no longer that backward, agrarian, peasant country—tormented by hunger and devasted by war—which it was at the time of the establishment of the Communist International. It has become one of the most progressive industrial countries of the world, with a most modern collective agricultural system, and with a rapidly expanding culture.

The Stalin Constitution—the sole genuinely democratic constitution in the world—has codified the achievements of the last two decades: the disappearance of the exploiting classes; the transformation of the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia, and the process of abolishing the distinctions between them; the construction of socialism. Thus, the elections to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. reveal the political and moral unity of the entire people, of all nations in the Soviet Union.

The speedy development of the forces of production and the moral and political unity of all nations of the Soviet Union make the Red Army the best army in the world. The Third Five-Year Plan, adopted by the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B.), lays the foundation for the transition to the second stage of communism, in which each works according to his abilities and each consumes according to his needs.

Contrasted with this, what kind of picture is presented by the capitalist world?

Economically: The 1929 crisis was followed by a depression of a special kind, which was succeeded in 1937 by the new cyclical economic crisis which persists at the present time. Capitalism already proved itself to be incapable of bringing about a period of prosperity; industrial production only reached the 1937 level: the rise was less than the increase in population. It has become crystal-clear that capitalism has become a fetter on the development of industry.

The international situation: An armaments race of all states, such as never before existed in history. For hundreds of miles along the frontiers of the European countries run ramparts of iron and concrete, manned by guns of every possible kind. Fortifications are built in the middle of the African desert. The new imperialist war already rages on three continents. At any moment, this war might be converted into a world war.

In international politics: The class struggle is enhanced and intensified. Never was the hatred of the working people for the dominant classes, for the rulers, so great as at present in the fascist countries. In vain does fascism fill its prisons and its concentration camps; in vain does it send its political opponents to the scaffold. The revolution advances. Out of that small band of revolutionaries whom Lenin was able to assemble, twenty years ago, for the founding of the Communist International, has grown a mighty army, embracing every land, which, in spite of temporary defeats, is assured of its final victory.

The Third Five-Year Plan and the Fascist War Industry

BY PETER WIEDEN

WITH the capitalist world shaken by a new economic crisis and getting more deeply involved in new wars, the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) met in order to discuss and determine the Third Five-Year Plan.

The theses for the Third Five-Year Plan, announced by V. M. Molotov, President of the Council of the People's Commissars,* show in clear outline a truly astounding picture of the achievements and successes, the creative energy and the perspectives of socialism. The technical facts and bare figures of the report become, in the reader's mind, a *song of triumph of socialism* which, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, in two decades of struggle against unexampled difficulties achieved unexampled results. We hear this song of triumph in the socialist emulation with which the Soviet people greets the Eighteenth Party Congress, in the huge increase in production in all industries, the over-fulfilled plans of coal mining and transport and the labor drive with which the masses of the Soviet Union overcome the results of wrecking activity and outstrip the most progressive of capitalist countries.

While the capitalist "leaders" of industry are unable to check the falling-off in production, while industry in the fascist countries, in the words of the Saxon Minister for Economics, Lenk, shows an "overstrung, overstrained, nervous and feverish aspect," while, in connection with the economic crisis, all contradictions and conflicts within the capitalist world are terribly accentuated and machinery which was rotting is being used to prepare for the new war, Molotov in the name of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks, is about to report as follows:

"The production-technical apparatus of the country has been radically renewed. In 1937, more than 80 per cent of the entire industrial output was contributed by new enterprises built or completely reconstructed during the First and Second Five-Year Plans; close to 90 per cent of all tractors and combines operating in agriculture were manufactured by Soviet industry during the Second Five-Year Plan. The tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan in the sphere of industry and transport have been fulfilled ahead of time. The Second Five-Year Plan was fulfilled by industry by April 1, 1937, *i.e.*, in four years and three months; the development of heavy industry being particularly rapid also during the Second Five-Year Plan. The Second Five-Year Plan for railway freight traffic was overfulfilled in four years. The most important tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan in agricultural production, grain and cotton have been overfulfilled.

"As compared with 1932, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan, the output of industry had grown 120 per cent in 1937, whereas the program of the Second Five-Year Plan provided for a 114 per cent increase. The average annual rate

* For complete theses of report, see *The Communist International*, No. 2, 1939, p. 171.

of increase of industrial output during the Second Five-Year Plan amounted to 17.1 per cent as against the 16.5 per cent provided for by the plan."

The tasks set to Soviet industry in the Third Five-Year Plan are amazing in the precision with which they go into every detail. Soviet industry will fulfill all these tasks, as the world knows from the experiences of the first two Five-Year Plans, which were completely fulfilled ahead of schedule. People have got accustomed to the fact that in the Soviet Union, in contrast with capitalist countries, promises are kept and plans carried out, that, in the Soviet Union, every word of the state and Party leadership is turned into deeds and that the program of today is the reality of tomorrow.

The tasks which Molotov's theses place before Soviet industry are being steadily realized. The extent of industrial production in 1937 reached 95,500,000,000 rubles, in 1942 it will be no less than 180,000,000,000 rubles. That means, compared with 1937, *an increase of 88 per cent in industrial production.* The production of machine plants will be more than doubled. The production of steam-turbines and boilers will be increased almost fivefold. There will be a sixfold increase in the production of ring spinning machinery. The output of coal from the Moscow basin will be more than double, that in the Urals nearly trebled, in Central Asia increased more than fourfold. The production of gas from petroleum and coal will be more than trebled. The total productive capacity of electric power stations will be more than doubled. Production in the chemical industry will be more than doubled. The production of high grade rolled steel will be more than doubled, the production of copper almost trebled; the production of aluminum more than trebled. The output of articles in general use will be nearly doubled.

We have quoted only a few of the most important of the estimated figures for production, out of the total, in order to illustrate in restricted space the unexampled progress of production in the land of socialism.

Molotov pointed out that in the Soviet Union, in a fantastically short time, socialism has changed a backward land into a first-rank industrial country, that the Soviet Union has surpassed by far all capitalist countries in speed of industrial development and technical capacity, but that so far it has not been possible to produce so much per head of the population as the most progressive capitalist countries. In the Third Five-Year Plan, Soviet industry has been given the task of overtaking and surpassing the most highly developed capitalist countries in this respect also. In the theses it says:

"Now that the U.S.S.R. has developed into a socialist state, has in the main completed the technical reconstruction of the national economy and is in advance of any capitalist country of Europe with respect to the level of production technique in industry and agriculture—now we can and must undertake practically and in its full scope the realization of the fundamental economic task of the U.S.S.R.: *to overtake and surpass the more developed capitalist countries of Europe and America economically as well,* and completely solve this problem in the immediate future."

The defenders of decaying capitalism know very well what that means. Hitherto, in their anti-socialist propaganda, they have chanted over again the same old litany, namely, that in the most highly developed capitalist countries, more material and clothes, more shoes and stockings are produced per head of the population than in the Soviet Union, glossing over the fact that in the capitalist countries, because of excess of commodities, untold millions of people suffer hunger and want; that, in the land of socialism, the mass of the workers and peasants rose from the misery of tsardom to a prosperity of which they had hardly dared to dream.

Now, because of the development of Soviet industry even this sham argument is stricken out of the hands of the defenders of capitalism. In a few years, every citizen of the Soviet Union will reach, in every respect, the standard of living which, in capitalist countries, is

reserved for a narrow bourgeois class. Within a few years, not only the workers, but the small bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries also will envy the economic situation of every citizen in the Soviet Union. In a few years the most cunning agitators of capitalism will no longer be able to stop or hinder the primary desire of the masses of peoples for socialism. Then sickly capitalism will hear day and night the pealing of its own funeral bells. Then will be realized the words of Molotov's theses:

"*The fulfilment of the Third Five-Year Plan will be the best proof of the all-conquering power of communism in its historic contest with capitalism.*"

Terrified at this prospect, the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie in all countries are striving to organize a world conspiracy against socialism and against the working class. The second imperialist war is not only a war for a fresh division of the world, but also a war of the most reactionary forces of capitalism against the movement of the masses towards freedom, against the union of workers with peasants and urban middle classes, against the working classes and against socialism.

At the head of the imperialist war powers stands German fascism. The fascist dictatorship in Hitler Germany is organized solely for war. For the fascist hangmen of the German people the world consists of theaters of war: "the war-theater inside Germany," the war-theater of Western Europe, the war-theater of Eastern Europe. German industry, German education, German politics are all centered on the war industry. War in all forms, war without declaration of war, war for the enslavement of all nations is the outlook of German fascism.

The Soviet Union is concerned with preserving peace, with preventing a further extension of the second imperialist war—but the Soviet Union is not afraid of war. *The superiority of socialism to capitalism* is clearly expressed in peace, but it would be not less clearly expressed in a war. The Third Five-Year Plan is a peace program—but at the same time it insures completely the military power of the Soviet Union against any aggressor.

THE FASCIST 'PLANNED ECONOMY' FREAK

German fascism has attempted outwardly to imitate the Five-Year Plans of the Soviet Union. Like the monkey that put the watch in its mouth it has hatched up a monstrosity of a "Four-Year Plan," of a capitalist "planned industry." The so-called "Four-Year Plan" serves the sole purpose of preparation for war. Let us observe how far the German fascists have been successful in preparing Germany for carrying on a really *great* war.

The so-called "planned economy" of German fascism consists of the fact that lords of the great trusts and industrial concerns become the *direct* heads of the state, that the machinery of the state is put *directly* in the hands of the big capitalists, that some fascist chieftains like Goering and Co. have joined the ranks of the big profiteers, as business men, while a whole gang of governors, district leaders, officials, etc., are allowed to sponge along with them until further notice.

Fascist "planned economy" is only the fine-sounding term for the *unlimited rule of a small handful of big capitalists*, who give themselves state contracts at the expense of the whole nation and who are at the same time the state bestowers of contracts and the private industrial contractors. As illustration we quote a a case which even the fascist press reported. On January 31, the *National-Zeitung* of Essen found it necessary, for certain reasons, to publish an account of one of countless cases.

The Union of West German Cement Merchants in Wuppertal-Elberfeld forbade deliveries by a West German firm of wholesale builders' merchants. The firm protested to the Reich Industrial Court and at the same time applied also to the State Committee dealing with building materials in the "Wholesale, Import and Export Industrial Group" to

appear on its behalf before the Reich Industrial Court. To the surprise of the firm, it transpired that the man representing the cement cartel in this case was identical with the secretary of the committee dealing with building materials.

The firm admitted defeat and withdrew the protest, for since there is a personal connection between the cement cartel and the State Committee in the shape of the secretary, the secretary is his own master. His actions as secretary of the big capitalist cartel are endorsed by himself in his capacity as secretary of the State Committee. The big capitalist masters of the cartel are at the same time masters of the State Supervisory Bureau.

We may give yet another example. For decades the Westphalian Rhineland Coal Syndicate has fought for a gas monopoly for the whole Reich. The fascist government has now made Dilgardt, the Chief Burgomaster of Essen and representative of the Coal Syndicate, Goering's plenipotentiary for the whole of the power production and especially for the provision of the whole Reich with Ruhr gas.

Within this so-called "planned economy" rages *the most furious competition.* Contractors who do not belong directly to the ruling cliques are ruthlessly jockeyed out of competition. They receive no raw materials and no profitable state contracts. Their skilled workmen are taken from them and such difficulties placed in their way that they are compelled to surrender to the all-powerful trusts. The fact that this furious competition rages also among the ruling cliques is proved, among other things, by Goering's decree that acceptance and privileged execution of contracts must not be extorted by all kinds of *threats.*

The Westphalian *Landeszeitung* of January 27 speaks of the serious difficulties which arise from the fact that *"the struggle of contractors—among themselves,* the resulting endeavors of firms which are especially in demand to secure for themselves not only privileged supplies of raw materials but also of labor power" continually disturbs fascist so-called "planned industry."

There is a complete absence of any public control over the giant concerns of the ruling financial circles, only occasionally there wells up out of some leaky joint the stupefying stench of the corruption which pervades the whole of industry. The burden of paper which lies on industry grows and grows, the burden of countless ordinances and decrees, regulations, etc. An enormous staff of bureaucrats works to produce these ordinances, decrees, regulations, etc., and against these there is employed by all concerns an incomparably greater staff of "specialists," of lawyers and financial experts to penetrate this wilderness of paper and discover the gaps by which the law can be evaded.

A huge army of entirely unproductive beings fattens itself at the expense of the German people. Governors, district leaders, officials, Gestapo, S.S. leaders and sub-leaders, specialists, lawyers, experts, controllers and counter-controllers, spies and counter-spies.

And all this, this chaos produced at enormous expense, this struggle carried on by all possible means by the big capitalists disguised as the "state" against all other business men, against the citizens, peasants and workers, against the whole people—this calls itself fascist "planned economy."

DECLINE IN GERMAN COAL MINING AND TRANSPORT

Even the capitalist press in Hitler Germany has lately found itself more and more frequently compelled to refer in guarded terms to the *growing difficulties of this so-called "planned economy."* We can give but a little of the great mass of facts available. While the production of coal in the Soviet Union increases without check, we read in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of January 22, in an article under the eloquent title "A Pause in the Progress of the Ruhr Mining Industry," *that in 1938 less coal was produced than in 1937.*

The author, Rudolf Klecker, explains that there are "various reasons" for this

decline. He adds that "there were factors at work which *were beyond control* and *which would work retrogressively for the next few years also.*" He speaks of the general economic decline in the export markets, of the unexpectedly small requirements of the new German Raw Material Industries, and finally puts his finger on the wound:

"The *scarcity of rolling-stock* characteristic almost of the whole year and the temporary *falling-off of transport facilities* on the waterways have also a retarding effect on the development of output. *The decline of production per man-shift* could eventually be solved only by the employment of more miners. Checking the decline in production and the connected problem, especially important for the future, of the coming generation, are at the present time among the most urgent problems of the mining industry. . . ."

Before going more closely into the vital question of the falling-off of production, let us consider for a moment the state of the German industrial machine. The "shortage of rolling-stock" reported by the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung is corroborated* by the State Railways also. In its "Preliminary Survey of the Year" of January 4, the State Railways point out that in the last quarter "fewer cars could be ordered" than formerly, giving as "one of the reasons" the requisition of rolling-stock by the military authorities. The most important reason, however, was that in the last quarter, *less rolling-stock was built than was discarded as obsolete and worn out.* In its "Review of the Year" the *Frankfurter Zeitung* had to admit that there is a "regular traffic-famine":

"For a whole period, the coal industry was unable to supply its industrial clients because the connecting link between producer and consumer—transport—was no longer equal to the increased demands. Dumps piled up at the mines while merchants and consumers saw their supplies run short. Coal export, which plays such an important role in the German trade balance could in part be maintained only because the importing countries themselves supplied the rolling stock. In the big docks, from time to time, hundreds of ships had to wait for weeks to be loaded, because railway trucks could not be supplied for the transport to and fro of the goods."

It is not only on the railways that *wear and tear exceeds replacements of plant.* In the *German Mining Journal* of January 21, Ernst Poensgen, the director of the biggest machine-fitting firm in Germany, writes that "reserve plant necessary to the work in hand must be put into full commission *irrespective of urgent need for repairs and excessive wear and tear.*" He goes on:

"For two years the program for the production of ore has been incapable of being fulfilled because of the lack of reserve plant; none the less it is already fulfilled to an average of about 50 per cent of the plan figures."

Thus fascist industrialists must themselves admit what careful observers have long since been able to establish, that this so-called fascist "planned economy" is unable systematically to supply the necessary machines, and that wear and tear increase to an extraordinary extent, because the products of the machine industry for the most part have deteriorated, because German technique is declining in many departments. That too is a result of fascist "planned economy."

THE COLLAPSE OF THE GERMAN "AUTARCHY" FRAUD

In his theses, Molotov established that:

"The U.S.S.R. has become an economically independent country which provides its national economy and the needs of defense with all the necessary technical equipment."

For Hitler Germany, the fascists themselves have to state the exact opposite. They loudly proclaimed German "autarchy" and announced boastfully that fascism would transform Germany into an economically and industrially independent country. Today they have to

admit *the complete collapse of the "autarchy" fraud.*

In his Reichstag speech in January, Hitler declared that Germany must export in order to buy raw materials and food. He spoke of a "campaign of economic desperation" and uttered the cry *"German people, live! that is, export!—or die!"*

In the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of February 1, Joseph Winschuh developed in a leading article the program of "desperate export." After his pathetic assurance that Hitler's speech gave German exports "the blessing of National-Socialism" he had openly to admit that "the hope which existed in typical circles in the first few years after the seizure of power that we should be able to achieve self-sufficiency in food production" has most pitifully collapsed, that this collapse became even more vexatious "after Austrians and Sudetens also sat down at the German table." The Austrians and inhabitants of the Sudeten district, however, did not "sit themselves down at the German table," but were dragged to this one-pot table by force of arms, although it is correct that with the forcible enlargement of Hitler Germany, difficulties in general have increased also.

It will get still worse! cried Winschuh to the people:

"Export is now a national task of the first importance. In its service stands a still greater concentration of the will to work and, if necessary, readiness also to make temporary *social sacrifices.*"

Thus the German people have to toil still more and hunger still more in order to produce goods for dumping. Apart from the idiotic costs of the so-called "autarchy" economics, the additional costs of this announced policy of undercutting must be squeezed out of the German masses. One example may serve to illustrate the cost of fascist "autarchy." A thousand kilograms* of rubber cost from 700 to 900 marks on the world market. German fascism insists on producing internally the synthetic rubber "Buna." Apart from anything else, the electric current for producing 1,000 kilograms of Buna costs the factory about 3,600 marks, that is, four or five times as much as 1,000 kilograms of rubber cost in the world market.

The increasing flight from the land is one of the chief matters for concern of fascist "autarchy" economics. In its half-yearly report, the Reichs Credit Company writes:

"The flight from the land is apparent not only in the case of agricultural laborers but has also affected the sons of small farmers and hitherto independent small farmers. This is in part connected with the fact that peasants turned out of land which has been requisitioned for public purposes and compensated in cash, find it very difficult to get new holdings."

This removal, that is, *forcible dispossession, of peasants by the state,* has reached enormous proportions. The plow is crowded out by the sword; where formerly there was cultivated land today there are flying fields, training-grounds, fortresses and war industries. While, in the Soviet Union, cultivated farm land increases from year to year, while the Soviet farmers and peasants rejoice in the land which the state has given them for their perpetual use, *in Hitler Germany, cultivated land has decreased since 1933* by 1.3 million hectares. Of former German arable land, 6.5 per cent has been changed into graveyards of the war industry. It is a part of the crying contradictions of fascist industry that the German fascists are forever screeching about "A Nation Without Space" and chattering about "Blood and Soil," that they boastfully announced a revival of agriculture—and at the same time reduced the arable land of the German peasants by 1.3 million hectares.

Naturally there are other reasons for the flight from the land besides the forcible evictions on behalf of unproductive war industry. The standard of living of the German peasants under the subjugation of fascism has suffered such cat-

* A kilogram equals 2.2046 lbs.—*Ed.*

astrophic alteration for the worse that *the peasants are trooping away from the land* and are searching for any kind of a living in the towns. The Secretary of State in the Ministry of Labor, Dr. Syrup, in the periodical *Social Practice*, declared that agriculture lacked 250,000 workers, and the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on January 5 *gave the figures for the shortage of agricultural laborers as 400,000.*

In Saxony alone, according to a report of the meeting of the Labor Committee (given in the *Freiheitskampf* of Dresden, January 21) there is a shortage of no less than 40,000 agricultural laborers. German agriculture is thus beginning to be a "space without people." The foundation of Germany's food supply under the lordship of fascism has not improved but has enormously deteriorated.

The "autarchy" fraud, the collapse of which the German fascists can no longer conceal, has led to such grotesque events as the collection of rubbish, of food scraps, of dish water, in order to produce "raw material" for the German war industry. It is only with astonished amusement that the Soviet citizen, considering the mighty "Five-Year Plan for Chemistry" which Molotov developed, observes the fascist so-called "planned economy" which in important aspects systematically destroys and devastates German industry and then comes to its help with miserable details of pedantic rubbish-collections and a saving of dish water. Truly, *dish water* has received the "blessing of National-Socialism," but in spite of that it will scarcely become the *Fountain of Youth* for sick German industry.

WORKERS UNDER SOCIALISM AND WORKERS UNDER FASCISM

The standard of living of the workers in the Soviet Union has risen enormously and continues to rise uninterruptedly. In his theses, Molotov reported that:

"The number of workers and office employees engaged in all branches of the national economy increased by 17.6 per cent during the Second Five-Year Plan. The average annual earnings of workers and office employees throughout the national economy rose 113.5 per cent in 1937 as compared with 1932, *i.e.*, was more than doubled. The wage fund for workers and office employees rose 150 per cent, instead of 55 per cent fixed in the Second Five-Year Plan, *i.e.*, increased two and a half times. State expenditures on cultural and everyday services to workers and office employees (education, health protection, etc.), increased during these years from 4,400,000,000 rubles to 14,000,000,000 rubles, *i.e., more than trebled.* The material well-being of collective farmers considerably improved during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan. The gross income of collective farmers increased more than 2.7 times in four years (1933-1937) and the money income distributed among collective farmers for workday units increased 4.5 times during those years."

The Third Five-Year Plan proposes:

"To increase *consumption by the working people of the U.S.S.R.* by more than one and a half times, in accordance with the growth in the income of the workers, peasants and office employees.

"To increase *the number of workers and office employees* by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period in all branches of national economy by 17 per cent as compared with 1937, average wages by 35 per cent and the wage fund by 62 per cent."

In contrast to this enormous economic rise of the working class in the Soviet Union stands the growing poverty of the German working class. The fascist government has categorically forbidden any increase in wages. The wages of workers and employees under the Hitler dictatorship have dropped enormously. According to the fascist newspaper *Industry and Statistics the 20,800,000 workers in 1938 earned 2,400,000,000 marks less than the 19,000,000 workers of 1929.* For that the German capitalists in 1928 have pocketed about 25,000,000,000 marks.

We will illustrate this uniformity of the "national community" with one more example, taken from the fascist press. On January 30 the Westphalian *Landeszeitung* published an article on the "Social Form of Industry." In this ar-

ticle we find highly significant industrial statistics, in considering which we must bear in mind that the fascist statisticians naturally select "ideal factories" to serve their own purpose. In 1932, one factory paid its 489 workers and employees a sum in wages of 995,000 marks out of the concern's proceeds of 2,552,000 marks. In 1937 the same firm paid its 1,228 workers and employees a sum in wages of 2,372,000 marks out of a return of 5,512,000 marks.

It appears from this, therefore, that the average yearly wage of workers and employees decreased from 2,000 to 1,900 marks, while the share of the owners increased from 1,557,000 marks to 3,140,000 marks.

But this account is by no means complete. In 1929, the workers earned higher wages for an eight-hour day, in 1937 they earned lower wages in a working day averaging ten hours. The disproportionate growth of the "takings" signifies the monstrous sweating system which squeezes the last reserves out of the workers. But the account is still not complete. Fascist statistics are discreetly silent about the enormous forced deductions from wages, the compulsory contribution to the Labor Front which the employers subtract from the wages, the compulsory "donations" for the "Winter Aid" and the bosses' birthday-presents, etc., deductions which in Germany today amount to at least 10 per cent of wages. Thus, we can estimate the fall in wages even from fascist cooked-up statistics.

In the *reduction of wages* is mirrored only a part of the dreadful exploitation to which the German workers are exposed under fascist rule. The new labor laws introduced, in place of the eight-hour-day, which admittedly had existed for a long time only on paper, *the ten-hour, twelve-hour and sixteen-hour day.* Employers have a right to require workers to appear half an hour before work is due to begin and remain another half hour after working hours. A further extension of working hours is allowed for the cleaning and upkeep of workshops. If the Factory Leader considers it necessary he can force his "subordinates" to work almost unlimited overtime.

Freedom of movement is forbidden to the workers. The worker in Hitler Germany is bound to the factory just as the serf in the Middle Ages was bound to the land. Each must do the work ordered for him by "Leaders." If a skilled worker refuses to do outdoor laboring work, he is sent to a concentration camp. If a worker goes from one factory to another he is sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The concentration camps swarm with so-called "work-shy elements," skilled workers who were not prepared to do unskilled work in road or fortification building.

The sweating system to which undernourished and overtaxed workers are subjected is indescribable. Every day, workers who have fainted are carried out of the factories. The increase in factory accidents is enormous—from 1937 to 1938 the number of fatal accidents while at work rose by 38.7 per cent. "Increased output" is demanded with increasing ruthlessness but, today, even employers are forced to utter warnings, pointing out that the exhaustion of workers is leading more and more to a *decline in production.* We have already mentioned that the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported on January 22 a decline in coal production in the Ruhr coalfields and ascribed this decline to the "falling off of production per man-shift." The same article continues:

"The average personnel of the Ruhr mines for the year 1938 is estimated at about 311,000 men, which means an increase in workers of 21,000 over 1937. This contrast is very significant. In spite of not inconsiderable increase of the personnel, production has not noticeably increased (to be more precise, it has declined from 127.75 million tons to 127.63 million tons)."

The worn-out and exhausted workers are no longer in a condition to increase speed and quantity of output. On the contrary, production begins to fall off. Passive resistance is setting in. The "wear and tear" of human beings is much worse than the wear and tear of

machines. Machines are repaired, but the men, nevertheless, will one day take in hand the great repair of Germany and destroy the regime which destroys men.

INCREASE OF SKILLED WORKERS UNDER SOCIALISM—DESTRUCTION OF SKILLED WORKERS UNDER FASCISM

One of the greatest difficulties of the fascist war industry is the increasing scarcity of skilled workmen. Fascism is unable to satisfy industry's cry for skilled workers. On the contrary, the backwardness of Germany in this department is become more and more hopeless. The fascism that prates so about the "selection of leaders" shows itself completely incapable of training the necessary industrial forces. The training of highly-skilled workers, which is the greatest asset of socialism, is the greatest weakness of the fascist dictatorship.

In his theses, Molotov pointed out the development of new forces which is taking place in every department in the Soviet Union.

"Production cadres which are successfully mastering the new technique developed in all branches of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. A major victory of the Second Five-Year Plan is the training of considerable cadres of Soviet intelligentsia needed in all spheres of socialist construction and the promotion on a broad scale of new leading workers from among Party and non-Party Bolsheviks in all branches of the national economy."

Precisely the opposite development is taking place in Hitler Germany. While the Soviet Union trains hundreds of thousands, millions of new people for industry, German fascism is destroying the skilled workers who grew up in pre-Hitler Germany and achieved the high quality of Germany's industry. Today tens of thousands of the highest skilled workers are in prisons and concentration camps. Others have emigrated. Others, considered "politically unreliable," were put to such work that in time they lost their skill. The growth of new, skilled forces for production is prevented by the furious speed of the factories, the measureless increase of exploitation and suppression, the destruction of all democratic rights and freedom, by misery and dissatisfaction.

Technical education has declined. Instruction at the continuation schools has sunk to an unbelievably low level. Education in schools has sunk to a staggering degree. Learning is rapidly decaying. The first monthly issue of 1939 of the paper *Chemical Industry* pointed out that German research continually lags behind and has long since been overtaken by foreign countries. The article says:

"The worst result of the incomplete equipment of our academic research institutes is the apparent fact that, in a whole series of departments, the leadership of research has gradually gone to other countries."

As the periodical adds, foreign countries have outstripped Germany, especially in the departments of physics and chemistry. The bestial hate of fascism for all forms of knowledge, the demand for yes-men to stand at attention, idiots to wave flags at the "Fuehrer," have brought their own results. Louder and louder sound the complaints of industry and the army that they lack a "coming" generation, that the shortage of skilled men is bringing increasing difficulties. According to the official statement of the Secretary of State at the Ministry of Labor, Dr. Syrup, *there is a shortage in industry of 750,000 workers.* In actual fact the shortage is even greater. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote:

"To stop the drop in production and the especially important problem of the coming generation which is connected with it, are among the most urgent problems of the mining industry."

The Minister of Industry in Saxony, Lenk, declared at the January meeting of the Saxon Council of Labor that "In Saxony there is a shortage of about 20,000 skilled workers in industry." The tale of woe could be spun out indefinitely

but the examples we have given will suffice.

Everything that German fascism employs to remove these difficulties, in actual fact only makes them worse. Although children in the schools no longer learn anything, *child labor has been introduced* as in the earliest period of capitalism. *Indeed, children under fourteen years*, of school age, may be employed for light labor for as much as five hours a day. Young people from fourteen to sixteen can be employed for a full eight-hour day up to as late as ten at night. Youth over sixteen are even exposed to *nine-hour night-shift work.* Child labor not only destroys the health and development of the rising generation but also prevents the attainment of higher qualifications.

School results which hitherto have been disastrous will get even worse, all the more so because the Hitler Youth Leaders are to take over school teaching in the future. This measure is the result —among other things—of the fact that in Hitler Germany, according to the admission of a fascist newspaper, young people "with a good opinion of themselves" are beginning a retreat—which resembles a flight from the teaching profession. In a leading article in the *Essen National Zeitung* of February 5, we read:

"It is apparent that a certain disappointment with their profession has taken root among young teachers *who have some opinion of themselves.* Not only must we record the fact that a rising generation is lacking but also that a *flight from the profession is taking place.* . . . A teacher in his third year, after he has paid for all necessities (board and lodging) has 20 marks left of his salary. . . . This is unfortunate if he has a girl-friend and is thinking of getting married. . . . And there is in addition the fact that because of his duties outside school hours, the teacher can no longer concentrate on his teaching. . . ."

The German teacher belongs to that category of mankind that German fascism describes as "intelligent animals." He has twenty marks a month for books, clothes, newspapers and further training and education. He has to teach children in overcrowded classes. He must tell them how many houses burst into flames when so-and-so many bombs are dropped, that the Germanic jungle dwellers constituted the leading cultural nation and that Hitler is the greatest genius in the world. In his free time he has to undergo military drill in so-called "training camps." Thus it is quite clear that a young man with any opinion of himself, in Germany, has no wish whatever to become a teacher. In order to remedy this evil, the Hitler Youth leaders are put into the teaching profession. They guarantee that school-teaching sinks still further into barbarism.

Together with the introduction of child labor and the sacrifice of the school to the Hitler Youth, German fascism has taken another step to train cadres in its own way. It has introduced general compulsory S. A. duty, that is, *all German state citizens from 18 to 45 are compelled to belong to the S.A.* so that they do not forget the marching and dumb obedience and do not get the idea that there could be free people in Germany.

Thus German workers have even less time to continue their own training and education in order to learn a skilled trade; their leisure is ground to bits under the jackboots of the S. A. Universities are becoming deserted, the new generation of engineers, doctors, teachers, etc., is small and for the most part inferior since at examinations the S. S. uniform is more important than a knowledge of the subject. The young people who have been to technical schools are often unable to read and write properly. German scholarship is in a state of progressive decay. It is clear that under such conditions no skilled men, trained in production methods, can grow up and that the fascist system must suffer with increasing severity from its own rottenness.

The most important problem of any community, the training of a skilled "rising generation," the development of com-

petent and intelligent people, cannot be solved by fascism. In the solution of just this problem, socialism is unsurpassed and unsurpassable. In his theses, Molotov announced with justifiable pride:

"A veritable cultural revolution was carried through during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. The number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools rose from 21,300,000 to 29,400,000, the number of pupils in the fifth to seventh grades having doubled and that of the eighth to tenth grades having increased fifteen times. The number of students in higher educational institutions increased to 550,000."

In accordance with the fundamental tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan:

"To carry out broad measures for a substantial advance in realizing the historic task of raising the *cultural and technical level of the working class of the U.S.S.R.* to that of engineers and technicians."

The practical tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan in the realm of national education were expressed in these words:

"To effect universal secondary education in the cities and universal junior secondary education (seven years) accompanied by the extension of ten-year secondary education in the villages and in all national republics, so as to increase the number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools in towns and industrial settlements from 8,600,000 to 12,400,000 and in the rural localities from 20,800,000 to 27,700,000.

"To raise the number of students in *universities and technical colleges* to 650,000, main attention during the coming years to be devoted to raising the quality of higher education."

Thus two worlds stand in contrast to each other. In Hitler Germany universal S. A. duty, in the Soviet Union universal secondary education; in Hitler Germany, introduction of child labor, in the Soviet Union, progress towards ten-year school courses for all children of the people; in Hitler Germany, decline of the universities, in the Soviet Union a body of 650,000 students; in Hitler Germany, a chronic lack of skilled workers, becoming continually more serious, in the Soviet Union, raising of the cultural and technical level of the working class to that of engineers and technicians.

SOCIALISM VICTORIOUS

Hitler Germany boasts of its armaments, of its "war potentialities." These armaments are doubtlessly enormous but they are carried out on a rotten and quite unreliable foundation. *More than any other country, Germany must fear the great war towards which the fascist rulers are driving.* The Germany of Hitler is *incomparably weaker than the Germany of 1914*—all the fascists boasts of power cannot conceal that.

Before the beginning of the war of 1914, Germany alone produced as much iron and steel as England, France and Russia together while now it produces only as much as England and France. In 1914 Germany had far greater reserves of raw materials than today, the Reichsbank then had a great reserve of gold, the German firms then had credit in foreign countries, German agriculture was then incomparably more sound. More important than all this is *the internal decay of fascism*, the unwieldiness of its machine, the decline of quality and production in industry, the increasing exhaustion of German workers, the ever-increasing lack of skilled labor, the bad conditions of health and the pitiful education of the coming generation, the enormous dissatisfaction among wide masses of the people, the growing opposition tendencies in all classes of the German people, the profound disintegration under the surface of so-called "planned economy," a disintegration which must be expressed in all its intensity at the first failures. The armaments of German fascism are indeed an effective instrument of blackmail against wavering powers, but they cannot conceal the fact that Germany is much less in a condition to emerge victorious from a great war than in 1914.

The Soviet Union desires peace. In

peaceful development it demonstrates the enormous superiority of socialism to capitalism. Its industry knows no crises, its people's standard of living rises from year to year. By the full development of all human capabilities in all its citizens it is able to leave the most highly-developed capitalist countries far behind. Through its work of socialist construction it persuades wider masses of people in all countries of the correctness of the Communist path, of the unexampled higher development of humanity through communism.

But the strength of socialism, incomparable in peace, will prove itself incomparable in war. By the strength of its socialist industry and agriculture, the strength of its political unity and unity of morale, the strength of its inexhaustible sources of the most highly skilled workers in production, in the leadership of the states, in the Red army, by the strength of its unique economic and man-power reserves, by the strength of its Communist Party under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, the land of socialism is superior to all attackers. If capitalism, shaken by an incurable crisis, or if moribund fascism, sees no way out other than a new world war—then such a world war will not be the way out for the raging aggressors but the way to their own ruin.

If the capitalist world seeks to break the Third Five-Year Plan of victorious socialism by an imperialist world war, it will collapse under the blows of the weapon which socialism is forging for itself in its Five-Year Plans.

THE POLICY ON NON-INTERVENTION

"Formally speaking, the policy of non-intervention might be defined as follows: 'Let each country defend itself from the aggressors as it likes and as best it can. That is not our affair. We shall trade both with the aggressors and with their victim.' But actually speaking, the policy of non-intervention means conniving at aggression, giving free reign to war, and, consequently, transforming the war into a world war. The policy of non-intervention reveals an eagerness, a desire, not to hinder the aggressors in their nefarious work, not to hinder Japan, say, from embroiling herself in a war with China, or, better still, with the Soviet Union; not to hinder Germany, say, from enmeshing herself in European affairs, from embroiling herself in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all the belligerents to sink deeply into the mire of war, to encourage them surreptitiously in this; to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear, of course, 'in the interests of peace,' and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents.

"Cheap and easy!"—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 13.

Who Are the Friends of Chamberlain in the British Labor Movement?

BY J. R. CAMPBELL

THE four months which have passed since the Munich conspiracy have shown the British people that the policy of Chamberlain, so far from bringing peace nearer, has confronted them with appalling dangers. On all hands the disquiet of all thinking people in England has grown enormously.

The Labor movement and the progressive forces inside Britain are now beginning to ask themselves the question: "Why was such a betrayal possible?"

It is impossible to deny that during the month of September the masses of the British people were against the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia; that many impressive demonstrations took place against the possibility of this betrayal. Nevertheless, all the peaceful forces of the British people were not firmly united in order to impose this policy on the government and at the most decisive moments of the struggle the leadership of the Opposition fell into confusion and demoralized the movement against betrayal.

The main reason for this is that the leadership of the Labor movement does not yet understand (or, in the case of the extreme Right wing, is deliberately concealing) the fundamentally pro-fascist character of Chamberlain's policy in domestic as well as in foreign affairs. Chamberlain is described by this leadership as a weak man who is being "hoodwinked" by the dictators or who out of stubborn pride is continuing to pursue a policy that he knows to be wrong. They conceal from the masses that Chamberlain is pursuing not a personal policy, but the policy of the financial oligarchy of the City of London, which support fascism in order to use it as a gendarme against socialism and against the movement of the people for freedom and because, above all, it wants to set up in Britain a government similar to that of Germany and Italy. Although day by day we are presented by new proofs of the correctness of this diagnosis, the dominant leadership of the Labor Party refuses to accept it or to base its policy upon it. On the contrary, it sabotages in every possible way the creation of a determined opposition against Chamberlain.

Take the following key mistakes: On September 5, 1938, the Trade Union Congress met, right in the midst of the crisis, and while the congress was sitting there was a joint meeting of the Labor Party Executive and of the Trade Union Congress General Council which issued a special resolution on the crisis. The resolution was correct in all the essential points. It condemned the possibility of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, it called for the cooperation of Britain with France and the Soviet Union in resistance to aggression, and it demanded the immediate summoning of Parliament.

But the resolution did not call for the organization of all the forces of the Labor movement in a powerful campaign in order to mobilize the British people and impose this policy on the government. Why was this campaign not organized? The General Secretary of the

Congress, Sir Walter Citrine, in one of the congress debates, gave, indirectly, the answer. Citrine told the congress that in a deputation to the Prime Minister he had expressed the view of certain circles in the Labor movement that British arms might be used to back a fascist aggressor. "The Prime Minister asked us," said Citrine, "What fascist powers we had in mind, and I frankly confess that I couldn't tell him. After all, does anyone imagine that these arms will be used to help Germany conquer Czechoslovakia?"

Any thinking worker, when asked such a question by the Prime Minister at this period, could unhesitatingly have answered: "The fascist dictator you are helping is Signor Mussolini. You have just dismissed your Foreign Secretary Eden in order to be better able to help him." Citrine thinks, however, not like an intelligent worker, but like a most reactionary member of the bourgeoisie.

A few days later it was evident that British arms are being used not to threaten Hitler Germany, but to back a policy whose aim was the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Citrine's attitude, however, helped to sow illusions as to the real policy of Chamberlain and to justify the refusal to organize a campaign to prevent the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. So when Chamberlain flew to Berchtesgaden in order to conclude the betrayal, the *Daily Herald*, the organ of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party, calls out "Good luck, Chamberlain."

The rank and file of the Labor Party saw through the trick and when Mr. Morrison referred with approval to Chamberlain's flight to Berchtesgaden at a public meeting, the audience sharply protested, whereupon Mr. Morrison accused the "Left" of being anxious for a war against Germany. When a few days later the Berchtesgaden proposals were made public, the rank and file of the Labor Party demanded a campaign and thousands of meetings were organized all over the country. But in the interval Chamberlain had gone back to Godesberg. Hitler had increased his demands and Chamberlain had made a show of resistance in order to rally the people behind him.

The great campaign of meetings which the workers had demanded with a view to induce the British people to struggle against Chamberlain were changed into meetings where the national and local leaders of the Labor Party promised to support Chamberlain if he resisted fascist aggression. Thus, the belief that Chamberlain would probably resist Hitler and that resistance to Hitler meant war was re-emphasized by the Labor leaders in the most critical point of the struggle. Thus, the action of the leader of the Labor Party, Mr. Attlee, in the House of Commons on September 28, in agreeing to Chamberlain's visit to Munich, was not an "error of judgment" on the part of an individual. It was the logical culmination of the refusal of the Labor leadership to recognize the fundamental pro-fascist policy of Chamberlain.

As a result, we can see that during the September days the Labor Party leaders expressed opposition to Chamberlain in resolutions and statements but at each critical moment of the struggle they virtually cooperated with him to get his policy across. Yet, those leaders who virtually cooperated with Chamberlain during September are now talking loudly about preserving the "independence of the Labor movement" by refusing to cooperate with non-Labor Party democrats against Chamberlain.

The obstinate refusal of the Labor leadership to recognize the pro-fascist character of Chamberlain enabled the latter to pose as the savior of peace, when in reality he was the fellow conspirator of Hitler against European peace. How did Chamberlain accomplish this? He pretended that united resistance on the part of France and Britain standing alongside the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia would mean world war. Many Labor leaders, in the meetings which were held after Chamberlain's return from Godesberg, declared that they would support him in resisting Hitler by force if necessary. Not only did they

mislead the people as to the real character of the policy which Chamberlain was pursuing, but they also created the impression that the alternative to capitulation was war. This attitude only helped the subsequent betrayal.

The Labor leadership emphatically refuses to unite the opposition forces for the immediate overthrow of Chamberlain. They spread the laughable idea that Chamberlain is merely a political weakling giving in to the dictators occasionally because he misunderstands their policy or because he has mistakenly adopted a wrong foreign policy. The situation is not quite so bad. Chamberlain, if this view is true, will doubtless learn from his mistakes at Munich.

Meanwhile the Labor Party can patiently perfect its electoral machinery in preparation for Chamberlain declaring a general election in the autumn of 1939 or perhaps in the summer of 1940. By this idyllic dream the reactionary leaders of the Labor movement will hide from the masses that every minute Chamberlain remains in office is full of menace for the British people and for the British Labor movement. Every minute he remains in office brings nearer the day of the destruction of the Labor movement itself.

In such circumstances for the Labor movement to refuse allies against Chamberlain is not to maintain its independence, but is to help the reactionaries to bring about its destruction. When Chamberlain dismissed Eden the Labor Party had the opportunity of putting itself at the head of the progressive forces in Britain in an effort to bring down Chamberlain and prevent further betrayals. The Labor Party not only rejected this policy but its own campaign against Chamberlain was so miserable that it did not evoke the slightest response in Great Britain. Not only this but throughout the summer of 1938 the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party Executive refused to call a special conference to discuss the taking of special measures to aid the struggle of the Spanish people.

The International Federation of Trade Unions met under the leadership of the British delegation in Oslo in June, 1938 —a month after Hitler's May threat to invade Czechoslovakia. Not only did the Congress not take any special measures to rouse the international working class to defend Czechoslovakia, but it made its main business the breaking off of negotiations with the Soviet trade unions on the question of international trade union unity. The delegations from Czechoslovakia, France, Spain and Mexico pleaded with the British delegation to adopt another attitude in view of the menacing world situation. The British delegation for once were in a fighting mood.

If they could not fight against Chamberlain they could at least fight against the very idea of international trade union unity.

The Labor leaders are in the habit of blaming the workers for their own crimes and blunders but they have no excuse for doing so in Great Britain. From the rank and file of the organized workers in Great Britain there came during September no "peace at any price" whimpering. The only demoralization in the labor movement was the demoralization of the leadership. Both before and during Munich the rank and file were decisive in their rejection of Chamberlain's policy. So after Munich was the Liberal Party and a growing section of the Conservative Party. The Conference of Conservative University Clubs rejected a resolution approving of the Munich policy. The indignation amongst the intellectuals was particularly great. Wide circles of them who had never previously participated in the political life of the country came out in violent protest against the policy of betrayal.

There was a powerful rally of the progressive forces against the granting of belligerent rights to Franco and the campaign for sending foodstuffs to Spain reached its highest point. A series of by-elections disclosed the beginning of a movement of the electorate away from the government. Here, for example, are the results of the first six by-elections which followed the Munich betrayal. The results are not yet decisive

but the beginnings of a movement away from the government were there.

Here are the figures:

	1935	*1938*
Government ...	150,234	146,615
Anti-Government	126,843	146,517

In two of those by-elections the Liberal and Labor forces united to support a common candidate against the government. The result was a remarkable increase in the anti-government vote and the victory of the anti-government candidate Vernon Bartlett in the Bridgewater by-election. In the 1935 election the government vote was 17,939, the Liberal vote was 7,370 and the Labor vote 6,240. Thus the combined vote of the two opposition candidates was 4,000 behind that of the government candidate. Bartlett's vote was 19,540, an increase of 6,000 over the combined Liberal and Labor vote in 1935. The government vote fell by 700. Clearly the increase of the democratic vote was due to the fact that unity had awakened new sections of the electorate to political life. The results of this election proved clearly that where the Liberal and Labor Parties cooperated together against the government candidates the vote increased much more sharply than was the case where such cooperation was absent.

The Labor Party chiefs have therefore an unprecedented opportunity of putting themselves at the head of a great popular movement to force a reversal of the foreign and domestic policy of the government and to bring about its early resignation. The leaders of the Labor Party stick to their demagogic assertion that a common struggle against Chamberlain would endanger the "independence" of the Labor movement. That independence is compatible with allying oneself with other progressive forces is overlooked by these people.

A British Labor movement which was the leading force which combined the whole opposition on the basis of a common program would be infinitely more independent of reactionary monopoly capitalism than an isolated movement bowing down before Chamberlain, or worse, cooperating with him. For the very people who are talking about "independence" are now cooperating with Chamberlain. So all the fine talk about "independence" really amounts to this: That the Labor chiefs will refuse to cooperate with the non-Labor but democratic and progressive opponents of Chamberlain, but that they are prepared to cooperate with Chamberlain himself.

The political meaning of this attitude is perfectly clear. The Labor chiefs do not want to defeat Chamberlain and accept responsibility for leading an alternative government. This is the peculiarly English form of surrendering to fascism. The British Labor leaders are not in a position to come out and advocate peace at any price like their Right-wing contemporaries in the French Socialist Party, for they know that the membership will not tolerate a policy of "peace at any price," and so their defeatism and their surrender to fascism take the form of refusing to take decisive measures to defeat Hitler's ally, Chamberlain.

Those gentlemen talk glibly about a majority Labor government. Yet they know and admit that such a government is impossible unless the Labor Party wins another 2,500,000 votes. The results of the by-elections show that Labor is not in a position to do this. On the other hand the Bridgewater result showed that a combination of Labor and democratic forces was in a position to bring about this swing over of public opinion. A large section of Chamberlain's former supporters are wavering and uncertain but they will not come to Labor immediately. In these circumstances only a concentration of all opposition elements on a national scale, on the basis of an agreed program, will be able to bring about a decisive change in public opinion, in sufficient time to be effective. For time is all-important.

To read the pronouncements of Labor leaders one would imagine that the main question was to defeat Chamberlain in a general election in nine months or eighteen months' time period but the harm that Chamberlain can accomplish during another eighteen months of office

is too awful to contemplate. The decisive thing is to organize a movement of a majority of the British people (for which all the elements exist) in order to prevent Chamberlain from committing fresh crimes, and to force his resignation at the earliest possible moment.

A startling feature of the situation is that the Labor leadership openly admits that the Labor Party alone does not yet possess sufficient strength to overthrow Chamberlain but that the combined forces of the opposition do possess this strength. On January 12 the *Daily Herald* wrote:

"Even today it might be possible to defeat the government by following a policy of pure aggression, without bothering to expound and ask for the acceptance of an alternative policy. . . . But even were it possible for labor of all parties it would be dangerous to be swung into office merely by the force of irritation and discontent."

We will pass over the misrepresentation contained in the above sentence, that those who stand for the democratic front against Chamberlain have not an alternative program. Nevertheless, the *Herald* admits that it might be possible by a union of democratic forces to defeat Chamberlain now. Surely an opposition which refuses on the basis of the existing anger and discontent among the masses to overthrow the government has never seriously considered how a government can be overthrown if not on the basis of the anger and discontent of the people.

Another argument most in favor with the Right-wing trade union bureaucracy is: "We will not water down our socialism." Coming from such men who have spent all their lives in cooperating with the capitalist class, this argument is a piece of ghastly hypocrisy, particularly since the "short-term program" of the Labor Party neither means the establishment of socialism nor the taking of any decisive steps in this direction. One only need ask the question: will the continuance of Chamberlain in office, carrying with it as it does the danger of a fascist victory in Spain, and of a fascist attack on France, make easier the advance to socialism in Britain?

Thus, in the name of "pure socialism," a policy is being pursued which will enable Chamberlain to hinder socialist and democratic advance. The height of fantastic absurdity is reached when Mr. Marchbanks, the Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, declares with righteous indignation that Labor can have no cooperation with the "class enemy." By the "class enemy" Marchbanks means those bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements who are opposing the Chamberlain policy of national betrayal. The class enemy to Mr. Marchbanks is not the financial oligarchy of the City of London, the big monopoly capitalists and their protégé, Mr. Chamberlain. The pro-fascist section of the bourgeoisie is not Mr. Marchbanks' "class enemy."

Has Mr. Marchbanks not as a member of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress trotted around servilely to discuss with Mr. Chamberlain the question of accelerating the arms program of the government, has he not as a member of the same body agreed to cooperate with the government in compiling the voluntary national register? The Right-wing trade union leaders have never found any difficulty in cooperating with the main forces of the "class enemy." Indeed it was not until Mr. Marchbanks wanted to find a reason for Labor not leading the opposition forces against Chamberlain that he found out that there was a "class enemy"—in the persons of the progressive and petty bourgeoisie who are opposed to Chamberlain.

In capitalist parties we are all familiar with the big business magnate who, while not a public political figure himself, controls the politicians through the fact that he finances the party. The trade union chiefs love to play this role in the British Labor Party. None of the politically-minded public in Great Britain would go out of their way to listen to Messrs. Bevin or Marchbanks. As political figures they are below zero but their unions finance large numbers of

Labor candidates, and so these gentlemen, usually without consulting their union members, have taken it upon themselves to lecture the Labor rank and file and instruct the Parliamentary group.

Mr. Bevin, for example, tells the Labor rank and file that if the Labor Party dares to enter into an alliance with other progressive parties, the trade unions will leave the Labor Party. This threat is not only impudent but idiotic. The minds of the trade union members are not so static as Bevin's. They have learned from the events of the last year. Mr. Marchbanks threatens the local Labor Parties that if they dare support those who are advocating a combination of all the opposition forces, the trade unions will work to deprive them of the right to elect their own members to the Party Executive. Yet those bullying autocrats who seek to intimidate the Labor Party are mortally afraid to consult their own members with regard to whether the Labor Party should change its policy in order more effectively to fight Chamberlain.

The lengths that these people are prepared to go is seen by their exclusion of Sir Stafford Cripps from the Labor Party. The crime of Cripps in the eyes of the Labor leaders is that four months before the Labor Party Conference he addressed a memorandum to the Labor Party members advocating that Labor should lead a combined opposition against the National Government.

The salient points in Cripps's memorandum are:

"There has come into being a very large body of agitation for some form of combined opposition. This agitation is, I am convinced, the true reflection of the experience of persons of all kinds and classes gained in carrying through combined work upon Spain, China and similar campaigns. Through such work many have become politically conscious for the first time and they realize the possibility of gaining their objective—the defeat of the National Government—by the translation of their cooperative endeavors for humanitarian ends into the field of politics. . . .

"The rigidity of Party discipline at a time when many most loyal members are convinced that joint work with other organizations would lead to an increase of power has led to the weakening of the opposition forces and to discouragement in many areas. The refusal to permit members of the Party to cooperate in anti-government and anti-fascist work of any kind with other persons or groups active in the same direction, when accompanied by the spectacle of the leaders of the movement sharing the Albert Hall Platform with such typical reactionary members of the government as Sir John Anderson and Mr. Ernest Brown,* is not understood by the public generally and leads to the almost inevitable assumption that the Labor Party would rather combine with the National Government than with other opposition forces.

"I certainly should not desire to encourage the Party to any combination with other non-Socialist elements in normal political times. I have in the past always strenuously opposed such an idea. But the present times are not normal, indeed they are absolutely unprecedented in their seriousness for democratic and working class institutions of every kind. In such times it is impossible to overlook the fact that a too rigid adherence to Party discipline and to traditional Party tactics may amount to losing the substance of working class freedom and democracy for the shadow of maintaining a particular type of organization which is, as a mere machine, in itself of no value."

On the basis of the above consideration, Cripps proposes the adoption of a platform whose essential points are:

"I. An immediate and special appeal to the youth movement as a whole upon the basis of combined youth activities and a special youth program incorporating the main items which are already to be found in the programs of the various youth movements, and which accord with the Labor Party's own program. . . .

---

* Ministers of the National Government responsible for Air Raid Precautions and the Voluntary National Register.

"II. The issue by the Party of a manifesto inviting the cooperating of every genuine anti-government party, or group of individuals who would be prepared to give support to the following items of policy:

"1. The effective protection of the democratic rights, liberties and freedom of the British people from internal and external attack.

"2. A positive policy of peace by collective action with France, Russia, the United States of America and other democratic countries for the strengthening of democracy against aggression, and a world economic reconstruction based upon justice to the people of all classes and nations.

"3. Cooperation with the trade unions for advances in wages, bettering of working conditions, shortening of hours, raising of workmen's compensation and increase of holidays with pay."

The platform further demands:

"Higher standards of nutrition . . . ; improvements in the conditions and standards of the unemployed . . . ; improved pensions for old-age . . . ; increased educational facilities freely open to all children irrespective of their parents' income . . . ; an immediate and serious tackling of the problem of unemployment . . . ; planned assistance to agricultural development on the basis of a fair wage to the agricultural worker, a just return to the farmer and an equitable price to the consumer.

"The national control and coordination of all transport services . . . and of the mining and allied industries. . . . Control over the financial resources of the nation through control of the Bank of England and the increase of direct taxation. . . .

"The above program," continues Cripps, "could, I believe, be carried through by a progressive government with a wide popular support led by the Labor Party. . . .

"III. The statement by the Party that they would be prepared to assist in arranging for and to support combined opposition candidates in such of these constituencies, not at present held by any opposition members, as could offer no reasonable chance of success in a straight fight between any single party opposition candidate and the National Government, provided that such candidate would agree to support the main items of the above program set out in Paragraph II.

"IV. To enter into negotiations with any opposition party or group that accepted the above basis for a combined opposition with a view to making such constituency arrangements as were possible.

"V. To concert a nationwide campaign on this basis, to appeal for support and funds for the carrying into operation of this program in conjunction with all other parties, groups or persons who had signified their willingness to participate upon the basis stated."

This memorandum was intended only for discussion inside the Labor Party, but when certain Right-wingers supplied the British Broadcasting Corporation with information about the Executive meeting in which it was discussed, when they began to misrepresent the memorandum in the press, Cripps promptly published it in order that the working class could judge for itself the value of his suggestions. The result is that the Labor Party Executive expelled him from the party and the big trade union chiefs as usual shouted their approval, for after all the Executive had merely carried out their orders.

But the decisive mass of trade unionists have still to speak. The rank-and-file trade unionists and many trade union officials recognize that the reactionary trade union leaders will by their actions prolong the life of the Chamberlain government, which will be a menace to wages and trade union conditions. For it is becoming clear to the workers that the Munich policy is more than the strengthening of reaction in foreign politics. It is the strengthening of reaction in Great Britain.

The National Government has contemptuously governed without Parliament, it has sought to restrict the rights of members of Parliament, during the September days it attempted to censor the newsreels in the cinemas and control the press. It is beginning to blame

the workers for the muddle in arms production—the product of its own incompetence and of the rapacity of the big armaments firms.

Its leading ministers are beginning to hint about the necessity of cutting down the social services. Naturally Chamberlain does not want to disclose his full reactionary program before the general elections, but if Marchbanks and Bevin succeed in disrupting the opposition forces and Chamberlain is again returned to power, the attack on the wages and conditions of the workers will be launched all along the line. The trade unionists stand to lose more than anyone else from the so-called policy of "independence"—which is really dependence on Chamberlain and "independence" from those other democratic forces which want to fight Chamberlain.

Although the situation in Europe and in England has changed since Munich, the union leaders do not propose to ascertain the views of their members with regard to the question of a united opposition. They calmly propose to appear at the Labor conference and cast hundreds of thousands of votes in the names of members who have not been consulted on the new situation which has arisen since Munich. Is it not time that the rank and file of the unions should be consulted either by ballot vote, or special union conference before any one is allowed to case a vote in their name at trade union conferences?

The reactionary Labor leaders have tried, through their expulsion of Cripps, to provoke a split in the Labor movement and to support Chamberlain by weakening the Labor movement.

Cripps gave them the correct answer when he said in his memorandum:

"Everything possible must be done to increase the strength of the party itself in all areas. For whatever tactic is to be employed, a strong Labor Party is a vital ingredient."

Chamberlain and his supporters in the labor movement would like nothing better than for that movement to be torn asunder by pro-Cripps and anti-Cripps factions. Chamberlain would then remain in office and the pro-Chamberlainites in the Labor movement would place the responsibility for the defeat not on their own disastrous policy, but on Cripps. And so those who support Cripps must keep their own fire concentrated against the National Government and must seek to build the strength and influence of the Labor Party and must show the working masses that a common front against Chamberlain means the greatest possible strengthening of the Labor Party. As Cripps truly says:

"If the Labor Party were to come out boldly as the leader of a combined opposition to the National Government, such a step would, I am sure, enormously increase its prestige and popularity in the country and would bring within the ranks many who are not at present ready to join it because they are not convinced of its power and capacity to defeat the National Government."

The fight of a combined opposition against Chamberlain is the way to a powerful Labor Party. Opposition to this fight is the way to the destruction of the British Labor Party, the way to the concentration camp.

The cooperation of the reactionary leaders with Chamberlain is not only a great danger for peace, for the English and French peoples and for democracy and the international working class, it is also a great danger for the English working class movement. Cooperation with Chamberlain means the ruin of the British Labor Party. Cooperation with all progressive forces will be the beginning of its political advance.

Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Warfare*

BY CHU TEH

JAPANESE imperialist aggression in China gave birth to anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare which has now attained considerable proportions.

Chinese people, irrespective of their social standing, fight in the ranks of the guerrilla detachments. The birth and development of every one of these detachments are an epic in itself.

The anti-Japanese guerrilla war is a revolutionary war; it is a war of the masses of the population, a war of the whole of the Chinese people.

THE ROLE OF GUERRILLA WAR

What is the role played by the anti-Japanese guerrilla war?

1. The guerrilla detachments serve as anti-Japanese schools for the people. They propagate and organize the anti-Japanese national united front. They were created and developed by the anti-Japanese mass struggle of the people. They are the forge where anti-Japanese leaders were tempered. The anti-Japanese guerrilla detachments should continue to be the agitators and organizers of the movement of the national united front. They should stir up and gather together the Chinese people for a war against the Japanese robbers.

2. We were able to recapture, thanks to the guerrilla war, a part of the conquered territory where our people can live once again under the Chinese national flag. In the regions occupied by the guerrilla detachments, the national consciousness of the masses of the people is growing, their faith in victory is strengthened. Forces are gathered and conditions laid down to bring about the day when the sun will once again shine over the whole of the land at present carved off by the enemy from the body of our fatherland.

3. Guerrilla war will enable us to place the Japanese army in a very difficult position by preventing it from extracting from the occupied regions new strength and resources for a continuation of its war of plunder. Japanese imperialism is a giant with feet of clay; it lacks raw materials and man power. The anti-Japanese guerrilla war, if extended on a wide scale, will put an end to the hopes, cherished by our enemies, of obtaining raw materials and commandeering the reserves of manpower and the markets of China for the purpose of creating the necessary conditions for further aggression. In the occupied territories the Japanese are attempting to ensure their domination by means of puppet governments. The guerrilla warfare creates an atmosphere in which traitors dare not raise their heads. This makes the anti-Japaneses guerrilla war a deadly weapon against Japanese imperialism.

4. The actions of the guerrilla detachments should be coordinated with those of the regular troops. Guerrilla war undermines the fighting spirit of the enemy soldiers, thereby assisting enormously our regular army. In a war of maneuver the guerrilla detachments establish the most important conditions for the victory of the regular army, covering most efficiently their advance movements,

* This article was issued as a pamphlet, reprinted from the newspaper *Sin Jung Hua Pao*. It is reproduced here in a slightly abridged form.

carrying out reconnoitering work, decoying and demoralizing the enemy.

The guerrilla troops can break communications in the rear of the enemy, depriving them of the possibility of bringing up reinforcements and supplies. By destroying military encampments, medical depots and ammunition dumps in the rear of the enemy, the guerrilla detachments paralyze the motorized troops and inflict on the enemy perhaps even greater losses in the number wounded and dead, than those at the front. The guerrilla troops are in a position to paralyze completely the enemy movements, preventing him from either advancing or retreating.

5. The guerrilla troops can provide excellent reserves for the regular army. There are millions of gallant and hardened Chinese fighters in the ranks of the guerrilla detachments. Inspired by national consciousness, desiring neither position nor wealth, without personal ambitions, they fight for the national existence of China, receiving their training in the hard school of battle, under the most difficult circumstances. Brilliant military leaders and political workers are tempered in that school.

The anti-Japanese guerrilla detachments will form, in the future, part of the regular united revolutionary people's army. A wide extension of the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare is a most important and immediate question for the people of every social standing in China.

THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE GUERRILLA WARFARE

Every war depends on five inseparable factors of great importance: *politics, economy, human material, armaments and means of communication.*

The mutual relations of these factors determine the tactics and strategy of a war. The guerrilla war obviously does not form an exception to this rule. The error of those who see in warfare only the strength of arms consists in seeing one factor only, armaments, and ignoring the rest. We should like to show how all the five factors should be utilized in guerrilla warfare.

1. THE POLITICAL FACTOR

We all know that war is the continuation of politics by other means. There has never been a war without an element of politics. The Japanese took great pains to develop the theory of the "overpopulation of Japan." What did they not do to break the national unity of China, in order to "conquer China with the help of the Chinese themselves!"

This alone demonstrates what an important part the political factor plays in a war. If the guerrilla fighters do not pay sufficient attention to the political work and imagine they can fight against enemy tanks and airplanes with knives and pikes only, then the guerrilla war will prove to be a failure. The guerrilla detachments in their fight against the enemy should use the political weapon, this most important and valuable weapon, in every possible way. They should clearly understand that the political victory is not less important than the military victory. The guerrilla detachments should attain such firm unity as to be able to stick together under the most difficult circumstances, withstanding enemy pressure. The anti-Japanese guerrilla detachments will only become unconquerable and acquire an unbreakable strength when they adopt as their general political aim the defense of the Chinese people and of the Chinese state against Japanese imperialism. Those who pursue personal interests, personal glorification, who want to enrich themselves, are not worthy of belonging to the anti-Japanese guerrilla troops.

One of the most important phases of their political work is the consolidation of the mass population around them. The road of development of the guerrilla detachments may lead into a blind alley if they do not muster behind them the masses of the common people, do not defend their interests and fail to make them their mainstay. The guerrilla detachments have arisen from among the masses and from the masses of the population. They cannot exist divorced from the people.

The anti-Japanese national united

front is the focal point of the political activity of the masses. The Japanese have invaded China. We have lost already almost half of our national territory. To every Chinese his fatherland is at stake. In these days of great ordeal, we must forget all our differences, no matter how great in the past might have been our enmity, bitterness and even our blood feuds. Fear of future developments should not stand in our way because, today, the outstanding question is the fight for the national independence of China. In this most dangerous moment accord means life to all, dissension, ruin to each.

In order to muster the masses of the population around the guerrilla detachments, political propaganda should be conducted in the encampments and in all villages and towns; a strict conscious discipline should be imposed in the guerrilla detachments; the customs and traditions of the people should be respected. Everything should be paid for at a fixed price and nothing forcibly taken away; everything borrowed should be returned; in dealings with the population. politeness should be observed, etc.

Another important phase of the political work is the disintegration of the enemy forces. The guerrilla troops should employ all methods of propaganda: distribution of leaflets in the enemy ranks, appeals in a language understood by Japanese soldiers, unmasking the swindle perpetrated by the Japanese fascist clique through friends and relatives living in Japanese-occupied territory, etc.

We should make it perfectly clear to the Japanese soldiers that we do not harbor any hate against them. We should explain to them that even in case of a Japanese victory the lot of the Japanese people will remain as bad as ever; that only by turning their weapons against their own militarists and against the traitors of the Chinese people, can they attain their own liberation. Using all the means of political propaganda and agitation at our disposal, it should be possible to attract the sympathy of the Japanese soldiers towards our war of liberation and even make them take a stand against the cruel war of aggression of Japanese imperialism.

The anti-Japanese guerrilla detachments should never forget that with primitive weapons alone and without political work, it is impossible to win against such a strong enemy.

Every guerrilla fighter should be drawn into active political work, become an agitator and organizer of the anti-Japanese united front, a hero ready to sacrifice his life for the salvation of his country and his countrymen.

2. THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

The political factor of the anti-Japanese guerrilla war is the most important one. Yet by no means does it follow that the success of the guerrilla war depends on the political factor alone. With insatiable greed the Japanese aggressors have torn off province after province from the body of China in pursuance of the following aims: first, to improve the economic condition of their own country by squeezing out the last drops of sweat from the Chinese people; second, to utilize the resources of these provinces for the military needs of the conquest of the remainder of China; third, to weaken the economic strength of China to a point of making it impossible for us because of economic reasons to wage the war of liberation and force us to surrender to Japan.

It is true that our economic losses are very great, but on the other hand, what has Japan gained economically out of this war? The wealth which Japan was able to rob from China has not compensated it for its losses and expenditure. The war expenditure of the Japanese robbers has reached an unprecedented amount. It costs them 500 million yen per month. This is about twelve times as much as Japan spent on the occupation of Manchuria for six months.

The policy of "havoc" practiced by our government, *i.e.*, the destruction of the most important industrial undertakings in the territory occupied by the enemy, deprived the Japanese of the greater part of their booty. In the Shantung province alone, Japanese industry suf-

fered losses amounting to some 200 million yen.

The policy of "havoc" is a severe blow to the Japanese imperialists. We should apply this policy with greater persistence; we should make inoperative any undertaking which has as yet not been destroyed in the territory in danger of being occupied by Japan, stopping the enemy from utilizing any of them. We should make it impossible for the enemy to obtain food, water, etc. The Chinese people in the occupied territories should be mobilized to boycott Japanese goods, to oppose the increasing burden of taxation, etc. This can only be achieved by a wide extension of guerrilla war both in the immediate and deep rear of the enemy.

Economically, the anti-Japanese guerrilla war leads to the exhausting of the sources of material supply of the Japanese robbers. We should deprive the Japanese of their means of transport, their weapons, ammunition dumps, medical depots and medicine. We should destroy their ways of communication and their military camps, etc.

In their war against the Chinese people the Japanese imperialists rely mainly on modern technique. The stronger, however, a military force is motorized, the more it depends on close contact with the rear, because without sufficient gasoline, ammunition, etc., motorized troops not only fail to fulfill their purpose, but fall an easy prey to the enemy.

In spite of lack of arms, ammunition and food, the guerrilla detachments should be prepared to lead, even under the most difficult circumstances, an implacable struggle against the enemy. For this purpose they must observe in the course of their war the following rules: (a) confiscate the enemy's property within the territory controlled by the guerrilla troops; (b) confiscate the property of traitors; (c) encourage economic assistance to the masses of the Chinese population.

The anti-Japanese guerrilla detachments fight for the interests of the whole of China and they have the right to expect the help and support of all Chinese people, with the exception of course of the Trotskyist bandits and the traitors to our fatherland.

The working people on their own initiative help the guerrilla troops by supplying them with food. Very often they deny themselves in their desire to provide for all the guerrilla fighters. They give away clothes to keep the fighters well-clad. Very gladly they give financial assistance to the detachments. One could enumerate many instances of food supplied to the guerrilla fighters even by the wealthy classes of the population entirely on their own initiative. In Manchuria and other occupied territories some of the employees of the puppet government render secret assistance to the guerrilla fighters.

In carrying out conscientiously the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front, the guerrilla fighters will get the unhesitating support and assistance of every Chinese citizen.

These tasks should be explained to every guerrilla fighter by their leaders, who should themselves set an example by their own conduct. They should fight energetically against bribery and corruption, against attempts to create strife between the fighters and their commanders. They must make a living reality of the principle that the commanders and political workers share all the difficulties and all the joys with the common fighters.

3. HUMAN MATERIAL

In order to preserve man power in a war, one should consider not only the numbers of the enemy forces but also their fighting ability.

The population of China numbers four hundred and fifty millions. It constitutes a quarter of the earth's population and is seven times as great as that of Japan. The fact that the war is being waged on Chinese territory, with an active participation of the greater part of the population, is a very important point for the achievement of victory. The final victory of the protracted anti-Japanese war will depend upon our ability to utilize cor-

rectly these great sources of man-power and the human material itself.

How should it be done?

In the occupied territories the enemy commits outrages against the population. The Chinese citizens are mishandled and beaten up, women raped, peasants ruined, workers exploited to the utmost.

The Japanese robbers organize Chinese people into the so-called "vigilance detachments" and use them for cannon fodder; they entice children and take them to Japan in order to bring them up there in the spirit of Japanese imperialism.

Can any Chinese, true to his country and prepared to fight to the end, witness all this without shuddering? There are people overcome by "generosity" who, seeing the ferocious cruelty of the Japanese in these regions where guerrilla detachments already exist say with a shudder that guerrilla war should not be waged. Are the Japanese less cruel in the regions where guerrilla fighters do not operate? The facts prove that this is not the case. There were no guerrilla forces in Nanking yet the Japanese slaughtered 50,000 peace-abiding inhabitants in two days. In the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Nanghui conquered by the Japanese, there were no guerrilla forces, and yet over 300,000 Chinese were slaughtered there.

Now the people in those provinces understand that it is better to support the guerrilla fighters than to be slaughtered by the Japanese; that only a life and death struggle against the Japanese robbers can save them from their doom. It should be stressed that it is in the provinces where the guerrilla fighters operate that the people receive war experience and armed help in their resistance to the Japanese robbers. The true Chinese patriots and national heroes should organize the people; they should unite behind them all Chinese citizens who love their country and their fellow-countrymen, irrespective of political party, social standing and religious beliefs, in the fight for the complete liberation of China. The rich should offer their money to save our fatherland, the strong should give their strength, the clever their knowledge, the armed their weapons. They should all come together in a brotherly union.

One of the most important tasks of the anti-Japanese guerrilla war is the sapping of the enemy's man power. The Japanese population is not numerous and there are not so very many people who can serve in the army. They can mobilize for front line service, at the most, four million men. The lack of human reserves is one of the great weaknesses of the Japanese robbers.

The methods of exhausting the human power of the enemy should consist, first of all, in disrupting their army and winning it over to our side, and in lowering its fighting strength by sudden attacks of guerrilla fighters on isolated garrisons and detachments, involving their physical destruction.

Our enemy is splendidly armed. He has guns, airplanes, tanks, yes, even poison gas. Our armaments lag far behind those of the enemy. The guerrilla fighters, in particular, are badly equipped. Yet armaments are not all-powerful. There are limits to the usefulness of a weapon. Every weapon becomes effective only under certain conditions. For instance, all modern arms such as airplanes, guns and tanks lose their effectiveness, to a great extent, at night. In a night attack they frequently play an even smaller part than cold steel; or again, when for some reason or another it becomes impossible to load the guns or when there is no ammunition, the guns become useless. Airplanes, unable to find their target, tanks without oil, or in a mountainous country, are also useless. The weapons of our enemy are not as frightful as they appear to be.

The guerrilla detachments should avoid, as far as possible, open encounters with the enemy, so splendidly equipped technically. To conquer such an enemy they should apply the tactics of surprise engagements and night attacks, unexpected action in the rear, destruction of the means of communication, etc. The guerrilla detachments should not expose their fighters to the deadly weapons of

the enemy, but they should, by all the means at their disposal, destroy the enemy's human forces. With lightning speed they should start hand-to-hand engagements. When the enemy's man power is destroyed the remaining weapons will become completely useless.

The guerrilla troops are armed only with swords, pikes, revolvers, hand grenades, light and heavy machine guns and, at the most, with trench mortars and small caliber artillery. In spite of this, the guerrilla fighters can achieve considerable success even with these weapons, providing they are used in a correct tactical plan of military operations, based on their superior knowledge of the surrounding countryside. The guerrilla detachments should know not only how to utilize to the best advantage their own weapons, but should be able to make use of the arms captured from the enemy.

Our aim should be to capture from the enemy as many new weapons as possible and to learn how to use them against the enemy himself.

5. MEANS OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

In a modern war the front and rear are equally important. The requirements for food, arms, ammunition, gasoline and other supplies, indispensable for motorized troops, are increasing tremendously. If in modern war the front is cut off from the rear, not only is the fighting strength of the army weakened, the army itself dismembered, but even whole divisions can be lost.

That is why for the modern army contact is a decisive condition of victory. To be able to use their power to full advantage, the enemy motorized troops must have very good interconnecting transport routes and means of communication, as well as special detachments for their protection. For this reason the guerrilla forces should continuously attask and destroy in the rear all the ways of transport and communication of the enemy's lines of penetration, thus rendering them useless. This demoralizes the ranks of the enemy and helps our front line troops to achieve victory. The destruction of the enemy's transport routes should be considered as important as any other military achievement.

The anti-Japanese guerrilla forces should endeavor to utilize all the favorable characteristics of the terrain such as mountains, ditches, gulleys, sloping ground, populated areas and other places where the operation of motorized troops becomes impossible or difficult. Guerrilla fighters should endeavor to achieve victory by all methods at their disposal.

* * *

The anti-Japanese guerrilla detachments, even with a few weapons, can achieve permanent victories when they get the support of the people.

The commanders and political workers of the guerrilla forces should in their day-to-day work by their enthusiasm and devotion to the defense of their fatherland and the nation, overcome all obstacles, unite all the people behind them and collect arms. In any given case they should know how to base their strategy and tactics on the five determining factors of warfare—politics, economy, man power, armaments, transport and communication routes.

At the same time they should maintain a very high political level, following continuously political developments at home and abroad. They must not abandon for a single moment the leadership of the political work in their units. They must carry out political education of the population and agitation in the ranks of the enemy forces. They must be teachers of the people.

There is every possibility of developing guerrilla war on a wide scale, in every part of the enemy's rear, striking fear into the hearts of the Japanese robbers. There is every possibility of converting the anti-Japanese guerrilla detachments into a mass political school of the people. This is our defense against the onslaught of Japanese imperialism. The interests of the Chinese people demand it.

Recollections of the Second Congress of the Communist International

BY K. KABAKCHIEFF

THE first International Congress of Communist Parties declared in its session of March 3, 1919, that the Zimmerwald Left group had outlived its purpose and had ceased to exist. On March 4 the Congress decided to form the Communist International.

We, the Bulgarian Socialists, known as the "Engherzige" Party, welcomed with joy the news of the formation of the Third, Communist, International. In May, 1919, the "Engherzige" Party adopted a new Communist program. It changed its name to the Bulgarian Communist Party and reaffirmed its adherence to the Communist International which it had already joined at the First World Congress of Communist Parties.

In this article I should like to describe in a few words the attention that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin paid to the delegates of different countries and the deep interest he displayed in the latest developments of the international working class movement.

At the departure of the delegates of the Communist Party of Bulgaria to the Second Congress of the Communist International our leader Dimitri Blagoyeff said: "Stand by the Bolsheviks, by Lenin. With the triumph of the revolution in Russia our cause has also triumphed."

We started on our journey deeply moved by a feeling of great devotion towards the land of socialism. There was little hope of our reaching Soviet Russia legally through the Western European countries. Hence we decided on an adventurous journey in a fishing boat from Varna to Odessa over the Black Sea. The journey entailed great difficulties and danger, not only because our small craft had to weather the stormy Black Sea, but also because that part of it was patrolled by the Rumanian police and the fleet of the White Guard general Wrangel.

Of the five delegates of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the Congress who left illegally in two boats, only three reached their goal. Two of the delegates, Comrades Dimitroff and Kolarov on that occasion were unable to reach the shores of the fatherland of all the common people—the Soviet Union. A storm drove their boat to the coast of Rumania and the two gallant fighters of the Bulgarian working class were arrested by the Rumanian police, who hastily trumped up a case of espionage against them. We were all very concerned at the time about their fate, especially for Comrade Dimitroff who was bound to suffer at the hands of the Rumanian authorities, as he had already been forbidden entry into the country in 1915.

Comrades Dimitroff and Koralov succeeded in obtaining their freedom only thanks to a mighty protest campaign organized by the Bulgarian workers and supported by the common people of all the Balkan countries as well as by a demand from the Soviet government to set them free. They were unable, however, to attend the Second Congress. It was not until a year later that Comrade Dimitroff as representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party took a direct and active part in the work of the Third

Congress of the Communist International, and was elected to its Executive Committee.

The Second Congress of the Comintern began its deliberations on July 19, 1929, in Leningrad, continuing them in Moscow on July 23. The delegates taking part in the work of the Congress and its commissions had an excellent opportunity of observing the active participation of Lenin in the debates on the most important problems, especially in the discussions on the theses on the agrarian and national questions. Often in the middle of the discussion Lenin had to correct the mistaken attitude adopted by delegates from some of the countries towards those questions. Lenin's theses on the national and agrarian problems, his every word, were a revelation to us, the delegates to this Congress, and we eagerly absorbed them all.

Knowing Lenin's kind and sympathetic attitude to all delegates, I asked him, during one of the intervals, to grant me an interview at the end of the Congress as I wanted to speak to him about the conditions in Bulgaria and other Balkan countries and hear his opinion on the subject. Lenin asked me to get in touch with his secretary who would arrange a meeting. A few days after the close of the Congress, this interview took place.

Lenin's unassuming attitude and the modest surroundings in which he worked produced a strong and lasting impression on me. His study in the Kremlin was almost bare except for a large table loaded with papers and books, a few chairs and a couple of pictures. Lenin himself was dressed very simply. He welcomed me with warmth and kindness, asking me immediately to tell him about the situation in Bulgaria. In the course of our conversation Lenin very soon asked me to give him details of the character of the rising which had taken place in Bulgaria at the end of the imperialist war. I did not know then that in one of his speeches made at the Sixth Congress of Soviets in 1918, at the time of this rising, which was known as the Vladai rising, Lenin had already appraised it and stressed its revolutionary significance.

In those days I was still convinced of the correctness of the tactics adopted by the "Engherzige" Party and the correctness of its analysis of the rising, and I described the development of events in the same way as they were understood and explained by the party which endeavored to justify its position with regard to the rising. I tried to convey to Lenin that the party had not taken part in the rising because it was too weak and because the rising had broken out spontaneously among the defeated troops returning from the front, who marched on to Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, to settle the accounts with those responsible for Bulgaria's participation in the World War and to force them to conclude peace. Lenin listened to the end and then asked sceptically: "Do you mean to say that you did not take part in the rising only because your party was too weak at the end of the war?" Although I confirmed it again it was clear to me that Lenin was not satisfied with my answer.

Vladimir Ilyich was especially interested in the situation of Bulgaria and other Balkan countries following the great war. Shortly before our conversation I had given him an article on that question. Lenin recalled it in our talk and said that he had read it and forwarded it for publication to the editors of *The Communist International*.* On leaving Lenin told me: "Carry on with your work and let me know more often how things are going with you." At this meeting with Lenin I also told him, among other things, about our post-war mass Communist agitation conducted not only by means of meetings, demonstrations and newspapers, but also by the publication of many pamphlets and books, original and translated, explaining and popularizing the basic ideas and slogans of the great socialist October revolution. Lenin was very interested in our mass literature and made me prom-

* See *The Communist International*, No. 14, 1920.

ise to send him all the new Bolshevik pamphlets which we had brought with us from Bulgaria.

I collected and sent him all the pamphlets and books in the possession of our delegates, issued since the war by the Bulgarian Party, among them translations of some of his own works. A few days later I was asked to visit Lenin in the Kremlin. I went there without knowing why he wanted to see me.

I had a pleasant surprise awaiting me. Lenin was obviously pleased and smiling. On the table in front of him lay the books and pamphlets which I had sent him a few days ago. "Yes," he said, "You have understood how to create in a short time the most remarkable agitational literature. There are only a few parties which have done it. As far as this is concerned you are doing well."

He glanced through some of the pamphlets and discussed with me their content. This warm and hearty welcome, this lively interest in our agitational literature, pleased me and touched me deeply. "The issuing and mass distribution of such books is at present one of the most important tasks of the Communists," said Lenin, and he asked me which were the problems we had analyzed and developed in our pamphlets. Suldenly he interjected: "Is Bulgarian a difficult language?"

I answered that it would not at all be difficult for him as Russian and Bulgarian were kindred languages. He then asked me to send him as soon as possible a Bulgarian-Russian dictionary. I gladly promised to obtain it for him, but I could only do so six months later as I had to order it from Bulgaria, not being able to find such a dictionary in Moscow.

Twelve years ago *Pravda* published for the first time a letter written by Lenin to his librarian, asking him to obtain a Russian-Bulgarian dictionary.* It seems that Lenin desired, with the help of this dictionary, to acquaint himself personally with Bulgarian books and pamphlets issued by our party.

The great interest displayed by Lenin in the growing Communist movements of all countries reminded me of the similar interest and understanding shown by Marx and Engels to their contemporary Socialist movements and to the spread of scientific socialism in all the countries, an interest which led them to learn other languages. A letter written by Engels in 1893 to the editors of the Bulgarian newspaper *Social-Democrat* is a characteristic example. In this letter Engels greeted the rise of the Socialist movement in Bulgaria, a country on the doorstep of Asia Minor, and among other things said that he started to study the Bulgarian language in order to be able to follow personally the developments of the Bulgarian Socialist movement, and as a demonstration of his desire, he himself wrote a few words in Bulgarian quite correctly.**

* * *

The call of our Comrade Blagoyeff to "Stand by the Bolsheviks, by Lenin" was carried out with honor by the Bulgarian revolutionaries. They stood fast by Marxism-Leninism, by the fight of the international proletariat for the liberation of the human race from the bloody reign of capitalism.

---

* *Pravda*, No. 19, Dec. 21, 1927.

** This letter is in the possession of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute and was published in 1926 by the *Lyetopis Marxisma.*

Socialism Demands Labor Discipline

BY A. CLAIRE

THE first year of the Third Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union (1938) terminated with the new measures taken by the Soviet government and the Soviet trade unions with a view to improving socialist labor discipline. Those measures which reflect the transition to a new higher stage of socialist construction cannot be understood unless they are considered together and in connection with the whole course of economic development up to the present, and the prospects and perspectives for the near future. The new relationship of millions of human beings to their work, the transformation of labor from an oppressive burden into "a matter of honor, valor and heroism" is the fundamental and most important result of the Second Five-Year Plan. And socialist labor discipline is the key to the fulfilment of the Third Five-Year Plan, the five-year plan which will build up classless socialist society in the U.S.S.R.

When the Bolsheviks began their First Five-Year Plan they faced the Soviet people with the clear and precise alternative: "We have lagged behind the progressive countries and are fifty to one hundred years behind them. We must make up for this lag in ten years. We shall either succeed in this or be crushed." (Stalin.)

Nearly ten years have gone by since then: in four years and three months the First Five-Year Plan was fulfilled and the same time was required to fulfil the Second Five-Year Plan. The first plan laid the foundations of socialist economy, the second completed the technical machinery of the whole national economy of the Soviet Union. These tremendous achievements made the capitalist world realize that the Soviet Union could not be "crushed." The U.S.S.R. had by now been made into an economically independent mighty power which had created an industry of first-rate technical quality, consolidated the system of collective farming on the countryside and made the country safe from any attack.

The Second Five-Year Plan built up a social system in which the causes of the exploitation of man by man have been eliminated. It abolished for ever the last surviving capitalist class—that of the kulaks. It brought forth a new society consisting of two allied classes: workers and peasants. The dividing line between working class, peasants and intellectuals is beginning to dissolve and disappear.

The Third Five-Year Plan is to bring this process to its conclusion. And this new task is not set as a distant goal but as an immediate job to be done now: *to build up a classless society; achieve the gradual transition from socialism to communism.*

The Soviet Union incarnates the profound truth of the words of Marx: "Humanity always sets itself only such tasks as it can fulfil." The Soviet Union has everything that is required to accomplish this great aim. *Socialist economy* is superior by far to any other economic system. The level of the industrial production of the U.S.S.R. in 1937 was up about 428 per cent as compared with 1929 and 80 per cent of this total was produced in new works and plants or such as were enlarged since the begin-

ning of the First Five-Year Plan. Ninety per cent of all tractors and harvester combines used in agriculture were made in Soviet factories under the Second Five-Year Plan.

The working people in the Soviet Union are living a life of real well-being. The wage fund of the manual and clerical workers of the U.S.S.R. has increased during the Second Five-Year Plan not by a mere 55 per cent as estimated in the plan but by 150 per cent; *the wages of the workers and employees have gone up to two and a half times* what they were at the beginning of the Second Plan. State expenditure for education, public health and the cultural requirements of the workers has been tripled. The aggregate income of the collective farmers has increased 2.7 times in the last four years and the cash income alone for days worked—not counting wages in kind—has gone up 4.5 times. The increase in the consumption of the masses has also been considerable—it has gone up about threefold, from 47.8 billions in 1932 to 143.7 billions in 1937.

What is the cause of these achievements, of the early fulfilment of the plans, of this rapid growth unknown in other countries? The causes lie *in the productivity of labor under socialism.* This is the basis not only of the great achievements of socialism—it is also the guarantee and the starting point for further growth. When the Second Five-Year Plan was drawn up, there was as yet no Stakhanov movement and it was estimated that the productivity of labor in the heavy industries would increase by 63 per cent and in the building trades by 75 per cent. Reality has left these estimates—which appeared utopian to so many "critics" and "sceptics"—far behind.

It was in these years that the Stakhanov movement came into existence as an essential expression of the feeling of millions of workers that they were working for themselves and not for anyone else. Labor productivity accordingly increased by 82 per cent in the heavy industries of the U.S.S.R., *i.e.*, by 19 per cent more than the Bolsheviks themselves had expected and in the building trades it also rose by 83 per cent. Lenin had said that *labor productivity was in the last instance the most important, the main thing for the victory of the new social order* and his words have been fully confirmed.

But this growth of a conscious socialist attitude of workers toward their work, this big increase in the productivity of labor—the result of the creative power of the masses themselves—have made it possible to achieve that considerably higher standard of performance required of every Soviet worker which finds its expression in the new measures for the improvement of labor discipline. Without these prerequisites, without the example of iron discipline given by the *majority* of the working class in the U.S.S.R., such a measure would have been impossible.

The Bolsheviks are realists and they know very well that the art of leadership consists in neither lagging behind the masses nor hurrying too far in advance. Only the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan, only the fact that in the Soviet Union millions of men and women have become disciplined, sincere, class-conscious workers offers a real basis for calling the *minority* to order and to demand the same discipline from all workers.

Honest labor in the Soviet Union—this is by no means an excuse for making extraordinary and excessive demands on those who work. Honest work means not to be late in coming to work, to make full use of the working day, not to quit the factory, for such practices injure the interests of the workers themselves. That is all. This minimum has long become a matter of course with the overwhelming majority of the workers in the Soviet Union. But a further advance, the fulfilment of the great new tasks of the transition to communism, demands that laziness, idleness and indifference to the work to be done should disappear even as regards the minority.

Thus the new measures for the consolidation of labor discipline are sign-

posts on the path to further advance toward the building of a new, higher stage of socialism.

* * *

The struggle for the building of socialism is above all a struggle to transform the human element. Lenin saw this very clearly when he said:

"The struggle against the old habit of regarding output and the means of production from the point of view of the unfree worker who wants to free himself from all additional trouble and get back at least a little of his own from the *bourgeoisie*—this struggle is necessary and has already been begun by the most advanced class-conscious workers . . . [*i.e.*, against those who now] in the factory belonging *to the people*, in the factory which is now the property of the people, want to behave exactly as they did before when they only thought of getting as much as they could and shirking as much as they could."

And Lenin, who was firmly convinced of the ability of the working class to transform the world, predicted:

"All purposeful, sincere, thoughtful elements among the peasants and the working people will take sides with the advanced workers in this struggle."

Lenin foresaw in the very first stages of development a thing which developed in the course of many years: socialist emulation. What is socialist emulation? Its basis is the knowledge which has gripped the working class that *they are working for themselves!* Well, this simple fact is also the basis of the recent decree. A short time ago the Soviet press published the answer given by a Soviet trade unionist to the question of a foreign working class delegate whether "it was true that in the Soviet Union strikes were not recognized as means of struggle." The Soviet trade unionist replied: "Would a man building his own house think of striking?" This Soviet trade unionist simply stated a fact.

It is important that every worker should understand this fundamental difference between work in the Soviet Union and work in any capitalist country. The Soviet workers are no proletarians. They are working an enterprise belonging to the state, but this state, the Soviet state, is the working class and peasants organized for political power.

If all that was needed to transform the world and man and to create a new human race with a new attitude to labor was merely to proclaim socialism, then the utopian Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen would already have transformed the world. In that case there would have been no need for Scientific Socialism and "utopia" would have painlessly become a reality. But the Soviet Union is not the "sun city" imagined by Campanella, it is not an Eldorado for idlers and lazybones. The Soviet Union is a socialist state with a real existence, in which 170,000,000 human beings live and work. Therefore Lenin regarded as the decisive and at the same time most difficult task of the Soviet state the permeation by socialism of the everyday life, of the psychology, of the habits of living human beings.

"What we ourselves have won, decreed, laid down as law we must anchor in durable shape in the daily discipline of labor. This is the most difficult but also the most grateful task, because only if we fulfil it shall we establish a socialist order of society."

The Bolsheviks led the whole working class in the onset in October and in the struggle for freedom against foreign intervention. But it was no less hard to conquer and to master the economic machinery of capitalism, the heavy industries. At the start the Bolsheviks could not teach the whole working class *but only its most advanced and class conscious section* to master the art of producing without capitalists. But in the course of socialist construction this most advanced section received constantly new reinforcements. Was the gradual mastering of socialist industry by ever-broadening masses of workers a march of triumph or a hard fight? It was a

hard fight, a form of the class struggle. Lenin said:

"Does not the class struggle in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism consist precisely in protecting the interests of the working class from those groups and sections of workers who obstinately cling to the traditions (habits) of capitalist times and still regard the Soviet state in the old way: 'Let's give "him" as little and as bad work as possible and get as much money out of "him" as we possibly can'?"

Has this form of the class struggle, carried on by the working class as a whole against groups and sections of workers, against a minority still unliberated from the remnants of capitalist ideology, found its end yet in the Soviet Union? No, it has not. The Party has in its resolutions clearly taken a long view of the task of *overcoming the remnants of capitalism in the consciousness of men.*

Would anything else have been possible? Only ten to twelve years have gone by since the construction of a socialist national economy according to a great and precise plan was begun in the Soviet Union. Ten to twelve years ago there were in the Soviet Union only 14,000,000 manual and clerical workers. Their number today is 27,000,000. Not more than nine years ago there was still unemployment in the Soviet Union. Not more than ten to twelve years ago mechanical engineering in the Soviet Union was still dependent on capitalist countries.

Was it possible in this historically very short time to transform without exception all the men and women coming into socialist industry? Could the whole gigantic army of Soviet workers develop in a completely uniform fashion? They are after all living human beings, not the dream figures of a utopia, not "human being grown in a hothouse" as Lenin said scornfully. They are living human beings with their errors and weaknesses, carrying the scars and deformities of the capitalist past. They came in masses from the Russian villages which began to blossom out only when collective farming was introduced, from the Russian villages in which poverty and illiteracy had ruled for centuries and in which it was justifiable to try and work as little as possible, because any increase in productivity only benefited the landowner, not the peasants.

Century-old customs cannot be eliminated completely in a few years; not even in the fires of revolution can all human beings be completely changed and recast. Education for socialism is a great and difficult task requiring not only patience and convincing power but also a certain measure of severity.

The masses of the working class have produced the type of the socialist worker, the Stakhanovite. There are in the Soviet Union today, not hundreds or thousands but millions of Stakhanovites. There are 10,680 Stakhanovites in the Stalin motor-car works in Moscow alone. The railways have over three million Stakhanovites. The Soviet coal mines, textile industry, engineering also number Stakhanovites by the million. These many millions are the vanguard of the socialist working class. They are followed by the great mass of the workers who in their consciousness and education have not yet reached the level of the Stakhanov movement, but who work honestly and conscientiously and take a positive attitude to their work.

Every factory of the Soviet Union has its "gold reserve," its staff of workers who feel closely bound up with their job, watch it jealously and regard all deficiencies and mistakes as wounds on their own body. Do these workers who represent the overwhelming majority of the working class suffer any deterioration in their rights or interests through the new decree of the Soviet Union? On the contrary, this decree improves their position and eliminates the complaint that their irreproachable performance is marred again and again by idlers and undisciplined elements.

A different case is that of those workers whom the workers of the Soviet Union have aptly named "gadders-about." In the Soviet Union there is no unemployment. It is not the workers

who have to search for work—it is the factories which literally have to chase after the workers. This circumstance is being exploited by those who, in the parlance of the Soviet factories, "are out for the long ruble." "Long ruble" is a colloquial expression for the unearned income of those people of whom Lenin said that they wanted to give as little and as inefficient labor as possible and get as much money as possible for it. But from whom is as much money as possible taken in this fashion? And to whom is as little labor given as possible? From and to the whole nation, the whole working class.

If under capitalism a worker does not come to work, if he leaves the job without giving notice and goes to another factory, the working class as a whole suffers no loss, while the individual worker gains something in finding a better job. But staying away from work, coming too late or leaving a job without notice is different in the Soviet Union. It means that a machine of socialist industry is held up, that a factory of the Soviet state cannot fulfil its plan and therefore cannot supply sufficient goods. Thus the Soviet state, *i.e.*, the working class itself, the peasants, the whole people, the defenses of the country all suffer.

A few facts: In the "Paris Commune" shoe factory in eleven months of the past year there were 3,345 cases of workers leaving their jobs without authorization or staying away from work. Six to twelve days were needed to train each new operative, and in many cases even more. During these months 21,390 working days were lost through workers staying away from work. The consequence? That Soviet consumers, including the slackers themselves, suffered a loss of 117,000 pairs of footwear.

There is a textile factory in Moscow called the "Trekhgornaya." The workers in this factory have estimated the loss to the country in textiles as a result of workers leaving the job without notice or staying away from work. In eleven months of the past year, 1,500 workers left the factory? Why? Are wages bad? By no means. The average wage of a woman weaver is 750-800 rubles per month. An assistant foreman in the weaving department earns 1,000 rubles per month. Is it difficult for workers to attain such qualifications? This is not the case either. The factory has a system of training classes and all those who attend such classes get paid for it into the bargain. There is a shortage of weavers, of all kinds of skilled workers. Of the 1,500 who left the job, 1,200 did not trouble to give notice. And the result? The workers of this factory wrote in their report: "Because of these gadders-about and slackers we have given the country 6,000,000 yards less material, *i.e.*, we have deprived 600,000 people of the possibility of buying material amounting to ten yards per head." This is how Soviet workers regard this matter. And the Soviet people demand a remedy.

The decision of the government was preceded by a lively mass discussion in all factories and offices. The disciplined and honest workers, honest in their relationship to their class, their people and their state, repudiated the backward and irresponsible workers. They would have nothing to do with those who failed to supply the country with sufficient goods. They demanded that the government should discriminate between the honest workers and the "gadders-about," the idlers and time-wasters.

The result was the introduction of the labor passport for Soviet workers. This labor passport has nothing in common with the labor passport in capitalist countries, where it is a stigma of exploitation against which the workers carried on a passionate and justified struggle. Penalties and reprimands are not entered in the labor passports in the Soviet Union, but only positive results, rewards and honors. The enormous, overwhelming majority of the Soviet workers are proud of their passports because they are the mirrors of their rapid advance, their well-being, their free and honest labor.

You could search the world and not find another such labor passport as the

one kept in the offices of the "Hammer and Sickle" works in Moscow in the name of Grigori Ilyin. He has been working fifteen years and is now 39 years old. His education is elementary, his trade a foundry worker. This is shown in his labor passport, which also says that Grigori Ilyin was in the Red Army in the Ukraine, the wide steppes of the Don region and in the Crimea during the years 1919 and 1920. He took part in the storming of Perekop, on the shores of the Black Sea, where the Whites made their last stand in the civil war.

In 1921 he joined the "Hammer and Sickle" works and is still working in the same plant. He came as a foundry worker but now he is manager of this giant engineering factory. The labor passport also shows the fact that Grigori Ilyin, foundry foreman and Stakhanovite, was awarded an order of merit several years ago. And is this labor passport an exception? By no means. There are hundreds of thousands of such labor passports.

And if tomorrow a man dismissed from his last job for irregular attendance at work turns up in a factory, is he to be put on the same footing with such as Grigori Ilyin or any of the million Ilyins who form the "gold reserve" of socialist industry? Why, ask the honest workers, should the "gadders-about," the backward and irresponsible people, enjoy the same privileges as the permanent, reliable workers respected by the whole factory and by the whole country? The Soviet Constitution stipulates: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to the work performed." The Soviet people and the Soviet government adhere to this principle.

* * *

As soon as Soviet power was established Lenin proclaimed as one of its fundamental elements the basic principle in administration and organization of a united leadership and strict subordination. Lenin taught us that we must learn to combine the unprecedented upsurge of the activity of the masses and their unprecedented democratism with "*iron* discipline during work, *unconditional subordination* to the will of *one* person, the Soviet head, during the period of work."

A Soviet enterprise is an organism which works with the precision of a clock. The Bolsheviks regard the method of persuasion as the principal method in re-educating and transforming men and women of the old sort into citizens of a socialist and communist society, but they do not reject compulsory measures either to attain this object. Such a transformation cannot possibly be effected in a year or two; a whole period of transition from capitalism to communism is required for this, a period of the dictatorship of the proletariat of which Lenin, the author of the theory and tactics of the Socialist revolution, said:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative struggle against the forces and traditions of the old society."

Marx said that this period would last fifteen, twenty or fifty years in order that the workers may change not only existing conditions but themselves as well. But in order to achieve this certain measures must be taken, because "the workers get rid of their petty-bourgeois prejudices not all at once, not by a miracle, not at the command of a Virgin Mary, not in obedience to a slogan, a resolution or a decree but only in the course of a long and difficult mass struggle against mass petty-bourgeois influences." (Lenin.)

The enemies of the Soviet Union prefer to pass over in silence those decrees of the Soviet government which award the title of Hero of Socialist Labor for outstanding performance or introduce honors and privileges for heroism or efficiency in labor. These decrees are closely linked with the new legislation on the payment of social insurance benefits, for if there are many Stakhanovites in the Soviet Union, there are also "gad-

ders-about" and slackers. The former are honored and respected by the Soviet people and are held up as an example, but the latter it disciplines if necessary even by compulsory means. Lenin called those who imagined that the creation of a new socialist discipline was possible without compulsion "ridiculous utopians." "Such a task cannot be accomplished without compulsion," he wrote.

* * *

The year 1939 was born amidst bloodshed, in the profound crisis conjured up by the second imperialist war. Wherever the sinister flames of this war may rise, be it in China, in Spain, in Central Europe or the Pacific Ocean, the point of this struggle between the forces of peace and the forces of war is ever in the last instance directed against the Soviet Union. And the only country which is irresistibly striding forward is the Soviet Union.

The enemies of the Soviet Union have in recent years hoped that some "crisis" would undermine the productive forces of the Soviet Union. They have been mistaken.

The production of socialist industry in 1938 constituted 112 per cent of the production of the preceding year, while in the capitalist countries industrial production had already decreased by 13.5 per cent in the first nine months of 1938. The engineering and defense industries of the Soviet Union increased their production in 1938 by a further 15.1 per cent as compared with the jubilee year 1937; many branches of heavy industry, this key industry, showed an even greater advance; thus, the production of gasoline increased by 20.6 per cent, the production of synthetic rubber by 28.4 per cent, the production of nonferrous metals by 23.3 per cent. The rubber, automobile and aircraft industries show even greater increases.

The results of the first month of 1939 are again causing profound alarm among the warmongers. The coalfields and the railways are proceeding to fulfill their plans in a brilliant fashion. Automobile production is increasing day after day and hundreds of workers and technicians of the defense and chemical industries are being awarded decorations by the Soviet government for good work. Metal industries have come to the fore and the food industry is moving forward with giant strides and has overtaken all other industries in the early fulfillment of the plans.

The entire Soviet Union is flooded with a new wave of socialist emulation. In honor of the Eighteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the workers are undertaking to produce millions of yards of material, hundreds of thousands of tons of coal, gasoline, steel, iron, etc. One plant challenges the other to compete, one shift competes with the other in the early fulfillment of plans; in a few days many thousands of new workers became Stakhanovites and shock-workers. And this is only the start. The theses of Comrade Molotov on the tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan in his report to the Eighteenth Party Congress contained this passage which by now has spread to every corner of the Soviet Union:

"We must overtake and surpass the more developed capitalist countries of Europe and the United States of America economically as well, and completely solve this problem in the immediate future."

This slogan which has found expression in the concrete figures and plans for new construction, for a new improvement in the conditions of the working people and for a new strengthening of the defenses of the country has met with a tremendous response. In the light of these new perspectives of socialist construction the meaning of the new measures for the promotion of labor discipline is made even clearer and simpler. The fewer working hours lost, the fewer late-comers, the fewer "gadders-about" there are, the better the organization of the seven-hour day—the higher can be the wages, the greater the quantity of available goods, the greater the number of sanatoriums, rest homes, schools, hospitals, theatres, and the surer the

final victory over the malicious enemies of the Soviets. The Soviet workers know the words of Lenin and will always remember them:

"We are surrounded by capitalist states. They are combining the world over against us; they ally themselves with our Mensheviks; they want to overthrow us by force; they think that they are stronger than we. We still remain a besieged fortress toward which the workers of the whole world turn their eyes because they know that from this fortress will issue forth their own liberty. And in this beleaguered fortress we must act with military ruthlessness, military discipline and self-sacrifice. We must not tolerate among the workers those who think only of themselves and who refuse to link the interests of their own group with the interests of the workers and peasants."

The new measures for the strengthening of labor discipline give the fortress of liberty even greater strength. The majority of the working class in the Soviet Union has called the minority to order. They demand honest and disciplined labor from every worker in the service of socialism, in the service of the Soviet nation and of all nations which regard the Soviet Union as the strongest defender of their freedom.

SOVIET SOCIETY

"The feature that distinguishes Soviet society today from any capitalist society is that it no longer contains antagonistic, hostile classes; that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, while the workers, peasants and intellectuals, who make up Soviet society, live and work in friendly collaboration. While capitalist society is torn by irreconcilable contradictions between workers and capitalists and between peasants and landlords—resulting in its internal instability—Soviet society, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, knows no such contradictions, is free of class conflicts, and presents a picture of friendly collaboration between workers, peasants and intellectuals. It is this community of interest which has formed the basis for the development of such motive forces as the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the mutual friendship of the nation of the U.S.S.R., and Soviet patriotism. It has also been the basis for the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. adopted in November, 1936, and for the complete democratization of the elections to the supreme organs of the country."—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 35-36.

Changes in the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*

BY A. ZHDANOV

1 THE victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has insured the ruling position of socialist economy. In accord with the fundamental changes in the sphere of economy of the U.S.S.R. the class composition of the population of the U.S.S.R. has changed. During the years of socialist construction all exploiting elements—capitalists, merchants, kulaks, speculators—were abolished. The working people of the U.S.S.R.—workers, peasants and intelligentsia—have undergone a profound change during the years of socialist construction.

The working class has changed radically, having been transformed into an entirely new class, freed from exploitation, a class which destroyed the capitalist economic system and established socialist ownership in the means of production.

The peasantry has changed radically, having been transformed into an entirely new peasantry, freed from all exploitation, the overwhelming majority being a collective farm peasantry, whose labor and property are based not on private ownership, individual labor and backward technique, but on collective ownership, collective labor and modern technique.

The mass of the intelligentsia has changed, having become an entirely new intelligentsia, bound to the very roots with the working class and the peasantry. The Soviet intelligentsia are yesterday's workers and peasants and the sons of workers and peasants, who have advanced to leading posts. The Soviet intelligentsia serves not capitalism, as did the old intelligentsia, but socialism, and is an equal member of the socialist society.

Thus, the class distinctions between the working people of the U.S.S.R. are being obliterated, the economic and political contradictions between the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia are vanishing and are being obliterated. The basis for the moral and political unity of the Soviet people has been created. This moral and political unity of the Soviet people was brilliantly demonstrated in the creation of the bloc of the Communists and the non-Party people and in the complete victory of this bloc at the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and to the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics. Around the Party have grown up numerous cadres of non-Party Bolsheviks, advanced workers, peasants and intellectuals, active and conscious fighters for the cause of the Party, people who carry through its line among the masses.

In this new situation the time has become ripe for changing the requirements for admission of new members to the Party provided for in the rules. The procedure for admission to the Party by four different categories depending upon the social status of the person to be ad-

* Theses for the report of Comrade A. Zhdanov at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), approved in the main by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.)

mitted, now in force under the rules of the Party, clearly is not in accord with the class structure of Soviet society, which has changed as a result of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. There is no longer any need for establishing various categories for admission to the Party or for various periods of probation for candidates. In connection with this, uniform requirements for admission and a like term of probation for candidates should be established for all persons to be admitted to the Party regardless of whether they belong to the working class, peasantry or intelligentsia.

2. It is necessary to supplement the clause in the rules on Party members and their duties by a clause on the rights of Party members, which have been considered to be self-evident but are not mentioned in the rules. Such an addendum to the Party rules is in accord with the growth of activity of Party members and is of exceptional importance for raising their responsibility for the cause of the Party, for safeguarding members of the Party from manifestations of bureaucracy. Article 57 of the Party rules reads as follows:

"The free and business-like discussion of questions of Party policy in individual organizations or in the Party as a whole is the inalienable right of every Party member and follows from internal Party democracy."

In addition to this right the rules should stipulate the following rights of Party members:

A. The right of Party members to criticize any Party functionary at Party meetings.

B. The right of Party members to elect and be elected to Party bodies.

C. The right of Party members to demand their personal participation in all cases when a decision on their activity or their behavior is to be adopted.

D. The right of Party members to turn to any Party body, right up to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), with any question or statement.

3. The rules of the C.P.S.U.(B.) provide for purges of the Party, to be conducted periodically by decisions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.). Experience has shown that it is necessary henceforth to discontinue mass purges of the Party for the following reasons:

A. The method of mass purges introduced at the beginning of the New Economic Policy, at a time when capitalist elements were reviving, in order to safeguard the Party from the penetration into its ranks of people who had degenerated in connection with N.E.P., has lost its *raison d'être* in the present situation, when the capitalist elements have been abolished. Moreover, as experience has shown, the method of mass purges in practice precludes the only correct, the individual approach to Party members, substituting for it a wholesale standard approach to Party members, "the use of one yardstick." In this connection under mass purges there were numerous groundless expulsions from the Party, and the hostile elements who had penetrated into the Party utilized the purges for persecuting and getting rid of honest people.

B. The method of mass purges does not permit the giving of full effect to the Party principle of an attentive attitude toward Party members, toward Party workers; and in practice the purges frequently lead to an impairment of the rights of Party members.

C. As regards hostile elements who had penetrated into the Party, masking their hostility by means of doubledealing and deceit of the Party, the method of mass purges proved to have little efficacy and did not serve its purpose.

D. The full force of the method of mass purges turned out to have been pointed primarily against the so-called passive members of the Party and led to the expulsion of honest and conscientious members from the Party on the grounds of their alleged passivity.

In connection with this it is necessary to discontinue periodic mass purges of the Party, establishing that the Party can, in the usual procedure, cleanse its ranks from persons who violate the program, rules and discipline of the Party.

4. At the Plenum of the Central Committee held in February-March, 1937, and the Plenum of the Central Committee in January, 1938, the Party condemned the practice of a formal, heartlessly bureaucratic attitude to the fate of Party members, to the expulsion of Party members from the Party or to the reinstatement of expelled members into the Party. This practice, as is known, was widely utilized by careerist elements who had penetrated into the Party, and who had tried to gain distinction and advancement through provoking expulsions from the Party, as well as by disguised enemies within the Party, who attempted by means of extensive application of repressive measures to cast out honest Party members and to sow exaggerated suspicion in the ranks of the Party.

The Plenum of the Central Committee held in January, 1938, adopted a number of measures insuring the elimination of the practice of wholesale expulsions from the Party, and the establishment of a differentiated approach in deciding questions of expulsion from the Party or the reinstatement of expelled members.

In accordance with this it is necessary to amend the rules of the Party by a number of points, which should:

A. Insure a careful approach to and a thorough consideration of the grounds for accusations presented against a Party member.

B. Safeguard the rights of Party members against any arbitrary action.

C. Abolish the practice of expulsion from the Party, the highest measure of Party punishment, with regard to Party members who have committed minor offenses.

5. It is necessary to repeal the rule requiring that candidate-members on admission to the Party not only *accept* the program and the rules of the Party and pass the period of probation established by the rules, but also *master* the Party program.

Comrade Stalin pointed out at the Plenum of the Central Committee held in February-March, 1937:

"To master the Party program one needs to be a real Marxist, a tested and theoretically trained Marxist. I do not know whether many Party members will be found by us in the Party who have already mastered our program, have become genuine Marxists, theoretically trained and tried. If we were to go further along this path, we should have to leave only intellectuals and learned people in general in the Party. Who wants such a Party? We have the Leninist formula about Party membership which is verified, has stood all tests. According to this formula, a Party member is one who *accepts* the Party program, pays membership dues and works in one of its organizations.

"Note that Lenin's formula does not speak about *mastering* the program, but of *accepting* the program. These are two entirely different things. There is no need to prove Lenin was right here and not our Party comrades who chattered loudly about mastering the program. It is obvious by itself. If the Party took the standpoint that Party members can be only those comrades who have already mastered the program and have become theoretically trained Marxists, it would not have formed thousands of Party circles in the Party, hundreds of Party schools where the Party members are taught Marxism and are helped to master our program. It is quite clear that if the Party organizes schools and circles among the Party members, it is because it knows that the Party members have not yet succeeded in mastering the Party program, have not yet succeeded in becoming theoretically trained Marxists."*

These are the reasons why it is necessary to repeal this requirement of the rules.

6. The new tasks of the Party that have arisen in connection with the turn in the political life of the country, with the adoption of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., demanded from the Party a corresponding reorganization of Party work, so that the principles of inner Party democracy prescribed by the rules of the Party are unconditionally and fully carried into effect. With this aim in view the Party put an end to viola-

---

* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, pp. 62-63. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

tions of the basic principles of democratic centralism that occurred in Party work and, in conformity with the rules of the Party, restored electiveness of the leading organs of the Party organizations.

The Party also carried out a number of additional measures insuring consistent democratic practice, namely, abolition of the practice of cooptation, prohibition of voting by lists in the election of Party bodies and, instead, introduction of the practice of voting for each candidate separately, guaranteeing to all Party members the unrestricted right of objecting to candidates and of criticizing them, secret voting for candidates in the election of Party bodies, obligatory convocation of periodical city meetings of active Party workers and, in large cities, also of district meetings of active Party workers.

The rules should reflect these new measures of the Party, which have been tested in practice and have insured a further development of criticism and self-criticism, enhancement of responsibility of Party bodies to the Party membership, growth in activity of the Party membership, and thereby helped to equip the Party for the successful solution of the new tasks of political leadership.

7. In accordance with the rules of the Party, province committees, territory committees, central committees of national Communist Parties and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) shall have integral departments according to branches of industry for the practical work of carrying out Party decisions and resolutions (and for checking up their fulfillment by Soviet and economic bodies and primary Party organizations); and "all the work in connection with each branch of industry is entirely concentrated in the corresponding department: Party organizational work, distribution and training of cadres, mass agitational work, production propaganda, supervision of the fulfillment of Party decisions by the corresponding Soviet and economic bodies and Party organizations."

Practice has shown, however, that such an organization of the Party apparatus has proved inadequate.

The central organizational task of the Party during the past period and at the present time was and remains the task of correctly selecting people and checking up fulfillment. Lenin attached exceptional importance to this question, pointing out at the Eleventh Congress of the Party:

"We have reached the position where the main thing is men, the proper selection of people. . . . Select the proper people and check up on what has been done practically to carry out orders. That is what the people will appreciate."

In his report at the Seventeenth Congress of the Party, Comrade Stalin most forcefully emphasized the importance of properly selecting people and checking up fulfillment, declaring:

"Victory never comes by itself—it has to be dragged in by the hand. Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire to win, but it is not a victory. After the correct line has been given, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, the organizational work decides everything including the fate of the political line itself; *i.e.*, whether it is fulfilled or not."*

Experience has shown that the weaknesses in our organizational work, in the selection of people and checking up fulfillment have not been overcome so far. Splitting up of the work of selecting cadres among the departments for the branches of industry has led to a diminu-

---

* Joseph Stalin, Report to Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., in *Socialism Victorious*, pp. 78-79. International Publishers, New York.

tion in the scope of organizational work; it has hampered the necessary transfer of officials from one branch to another, the promotion of people, their expedient utilization in sectors which at a given moment are of special importance to the Party. Splitting up of the work of selecting cadres among the various departments of the Party apparatus for the branches of industry has become a direct brake on the successful solution of the task of selecting and distributing cadres. This task demands that the entire work with respect to cadres be directed from a single center, by the concentration of this work in a single apparatus where should be gathered the experience of selecting cadres, of studying cadres, and of placing them.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), taking into account such a situation, adopted a series of measures concentrating the work of selecting cadres in the Central Committee Department for Leading Party Organs. Taking into consideration, however, the prime importance of the work of training and selecting cadres and the large volume of this work, the Department for Leading Party Organs should be reorganized, the work on cadres of all branches of activity to be dealt with by an independent Cadres Administration, and questions of Party organizational guidance, by a special Department for Organization and Instruction.

8. Diffusion in the matter of checking up fulfillment of Party directives among the departments for the various branches of industry has also proved inadequate. This work must also be concentrated in one place, the nature of the activity of the Party Control Commission to be changed in conformity with this. The task of strengthening the control over the fulfillment of decisions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and organizing a systematic checking up of the work of local organizations must become the central task of the Party Control Commission. It is necessary to establish that the Party Control Commission work under the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B). In connection with this, there is no longer any need for the Party Control Commission to be elected by the Party Congress itself. The Party Control Commission should be elected by the plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and work under the guidance and in accordance with the directives of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.).

9. The task of doing away with the theoretical and political backwardness of Party cadres, the task of equipping Party members with Marxist-Leninist theory and mastery of Bolshevism demands the raising of the work of Party propaganda and agitation to a proper level in conformity with the decisions of the Central Committee "On the Form of Party Propaganda in Relation to the Publication of the *Short History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*."*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) should have a powerful apparatus of propaganda and agitation in the form of a Propaganda and Agitation Administration, in which is to be concentrated all the work with respect to printed and oral propaganda and agitation.

10. The departments of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) for branches of industry should be abolished, with the exception of the Agricultural Department, in view of the special importance of the task of controlling and supervising the activity of Soviet and Party organizations in the sphere of agriculture, and the Schools Department, which should control the organization of public education in all republics.

The following departments should be set up in the province committees, territory committees and central committees of national Communist Parties: cadres, propaganda and agitation, organization and instruction, and agriculture; all other departments for branches of industry should be abolished.

It is necessary to have the following departments in the district committees and the city committees: cadres, pro-

---

* *The Communist International* for December, 1938.

paganda and agitation, and organization and instruction.

Leadership of the propaganda and agitation departments and cadres departments in province committees, territory committees and central committees of national Communist Parties should be entrusted to special secretaries.

11. In the conditions of the rapid growth of socialist economy, of the rapid political and cultural development of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, Party and state activity has grown enormously. In order to guide effectively state and Party affairs, to react promptly to problems advanced by life and to solve in good time urgent questions, it is necessary to supplement the existing system of central organizations of the Party—the Party Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—by a new body: the All-Union Party Conference. This is all the more necessary since the great interval between Party congresses limits the possibility of promoting to leading positions, and particularly to work in the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), the cadres of Party workers that have developed, while the conference could give the Party this possibility. In connection with this, the need has become urgent for supplementing the system of central organizations of the Party—the Party Congress, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—by the All-Union Party Conference, to be convened at least once a year and to consist of representatives of local organizations. The main task of the All-Union Party Conference is to be the consideration of urgent questions of Party policy.

The All-Union Party Conference must be given the right to replace part of the members of the Central Committee, that is, the right to remove from the Central Committee individual members of the Central Committee who do not insure fulfillment of their duties as members of the Central Committee and to replace them by others, but the number to be replaced is not to exceed one-fifth of the composition of the Central Committee elected by the Party Congress. Replacement of members of the Central Committee is made by the conference from among the candidates for membership to the Central Committee elected by the Party Congress, and in place of these it elects a corresponding number of new candidates for membership to the Central Committee.

With the exception of decisions on the replacement of members of the Central Committee and the election of new candidates for membership to the Central Committee, which do not require approval by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), decisions of the conference are subject to the approval of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.). Decisions of the conference, approved by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), are binding on all Party organizations. Delegates to the conference are elected at plenums of province committees, territory committees, and central committees of national Communist Parties. Members of the Central Committee, if they are not delegates by mandate from local organizations, participate in the work of the conference with voice but no vote.

12. During the past period, on the basis of the advance in Party political and Party organizational work, the primary Party organizations have gained in strength, their ties with the masses have improved, the vanguard role of the Communists has grown and the level of Party life has risen. The Party organizations have approached more closely the practical questions of enonomic and cultural development.

Experience has shown that the successful work of Party organizations was assured in those places where the primary Party organization was able to combine Party political work with the struggle for the successful fulfillment of production plans, for improving the work of the state apparatus, for the mastery of new technique, for strengthening labor discipline accompanied by the development of the Stakhanov movement, with the promotion of new cadres to Party and economic work. And, on the contrary, where Party organizations have turned aside from economic activity, limiting

their tasks to agitation, or where the Party organizations assumed the functions of management of economic enterprises—functions which do not belong to them—replacing economic organs and depriving them of responsibility, the work inevitably got into an impasse.

At the present time it has become urgent to define more exactly the tasks of various types of primary Party organizations and, in particular, of such diverse types of primary Party organizations as the Party organization in production units (factory, mill, state farm, collective farm) and the Party organization in people's commissariats. The Party organization of a production type (factory, mill, state farm, collective farm) should have the right to control the state of affairs of the enterprise, the state farm or the collective farm. This should lead to the strengthening of the role and responsibility of primary Party organizations in production units. As for Party organizations of people's commissariats, these, not having, in view of the specific conditions, the functions of control, should enhance the role they play in the matter of improving the work of the state apparatus. It is the duty of Party organizations of people's commissariats to signalize shortcomings in the work of one or another people's commissariat, to note defects of individual officials and to report about them to the Central Committee and to the heads of the people's commissariats.

All Party members working in one or another people's commissariat should belong to the general Party organization of the people's commissariat. The secretary of the primary organization of a people's commissariat should be confirmed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) resolves to introduce in the rules of the C.P.S.U.(B.) the following principal amendments and addenda:

I. ON PARTY MEMBERS AND THEIR RIGHTS AND DUTIES

1. To abolish the existing categories in the admission of candidate-members to membership of the Party and to establish a uniform procedure for the admission of candidate-members to membership of the Party for workers, peasants and the intelligentsia. All those joining the Party must present recommendations from three Party members of three years' Party standing who know them by having worked together for not less than a year. The rules now in force for former members of other parties are to be retained. The decision of the primary Party organization on admission to the Party goes into effect on approval by the district committee or city committee of the Party.

2. To supplement the section on Party members and their duties with a clause on the rights of Party members, including:

A. The right of Party members to criticize any Party worker at Party meetings;

B. The right of Party members to elect and be elected to Party bodies;

C. The right of Party members to demand their personal participation in all cases when a decision on their activity or their behavior is to be adopted;

D. The right of Party members to turn to any Party body right up to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) with any question or statement.

3. To abolish the periodic mass purges of the Party, establishing that the Party can, in the usual procedure, cleanse its ranks of persons who violate the program of the Party, the rules of the Party or the discipline of the Party.

4. To establish that maximum care and comradely concern and thorough consideration of the grounds for accusations presented against a Party member is to be insured when deciding questions regarding expulsions from the Party or reinstatement of expelled members in the Party, and that measures of Party education and influence provided in the rules are to be applied in cases of minor offenses (non-attendance of meetings, nonpayment of membership dues in time), and not expulsion from the Party, which is the highest measure of Party punishment.

5. The decision of a primary Party organization on expulsion from the Party and also on reinstatement of expelled members into the Party goes into effect only on approval by the province committee (territory committee) of the Party.

6. Appeals of those expelled from the Party must be considered by the appropriate Party bodies within two weeks.

7. To repeal the requirement in the rules with regard to candidates according to which comrades who have undergone their term of probation as candidates and who accept the program of the Party and observe its rules and discipline nevertheless cannot be considered members of the Party until they have mastered the program of the Party, that is, until they have become Party people with a Marxist education.

II. ON CANDIDATES TO PARTY MEMBERSHIP

8. To amend the section on candidate-members for membership to the Party in accordance with the section on Party members (the abolition of categories for admittance).

9. To fix a common probationary period of one year for candidate-members who are workers, peasants or intellectuals.

10. To retain the rules now in force for former members of other parties.

III. ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

11. To include in the rules the following additional statutes that follow from the tasks of making Party practice consistently democratic and of thoroughly putting into effect the principles of democratic centralism in the Party:

A. To prohibit voting by lists in the election of Party bodies. Voting is to be for each candidate separately, all members of the Party to be guaranteed the unrestricted right of objecting to candidates and criticizing them;

B. To establish secret voting for candidates in the election of Party bodies.

12. Taking into account the special political importance of the active Party workers in the life of the Party, to add to the rules the following clause relating to conferences of active Party workers of city organizations:

To consider it necessary in all centers of republics, territories and provinces without exception, as well as in all more or less important industrial centers, to convene without fail meetings of active workers of city Party organizations for the discussion of important decisions of the Party and of the government, such meetings to be convened not for ceremony or for the formal and solemn approval of such decisions, but for a real discussion of them; not only city, but also district meetings of active Party workers should be convened in large centers.

13. To abolish the departments for branches of industry in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), with the exception of the Agricultural Department and the Schools Department.

To have the following administrations and departments in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks):

A. Cadres Administration;

B. Propaganda and Agitation Administration;

C. Department for Organization and Instruction;

D. Agricultural Department;

E. Schools Department.

The following are to be formed in province committees, territory committees and central committees of national Communist Parties:

A. Cadres Department;

B. Propaganda and Agitation Department;

C. Department for Organization and Instruction;

D. Agricultural Department.

The following are to be formed in city committees and district committees:

A. Cadres Department;

B. Propaganda and Agitation Department;

C. Department for Organization and Instruction.

14. In place of the existing procedure prescribed in the rules to establish that

the Party Control Commission be elected by the plenum of the Central Committee and work under the direction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The Party Control Commission:

A. Controls the fulfillment of directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) by Soviet and economic organizations and Party organizations;

B. Checks up the work of local Party organizations;

C. Calls to book persons guilty of violating the program and rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), and Party discipline.

15. Leadership of propaganda and agitation departments and cadres departments in province committees, territory committees and central committees of national Communist Parties is to be intrusted to special secretaries.

IV. ON THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

16. To add the following statutes on the All-Union Party Conference to the rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks):

A. The All-Union Conference of representatives of local organizations is to be called for the discussion of urgent questions of Party policy;

B. The All-Union Conference is to be convened at least once a year;

C. Delegates to the All-Union Conference are elected at plenums of province committees, territory committees and central committees of national Communist Parties;

D. The procedure for elections and the rate of representation at the All-Union Conference are determined by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks);

E. The All-Union Conference is given the right to replace part of the members of the Central Committee, that is, the right to remove from the Central Committee individual members of the Central Committee who do not insure fulfillment of their duties as members of the Central Committee, and to replace them by others; the number so replaced must not exceed, however, one-fifth of the membership of the Central Committee elected by the Party Congress. Replacement of members of the Central Committee is to be made by the All-Union Conference from among the candidates for membership to the Central Committee elected by the Party Congress, and in place of these it is to elect a corresponding number of new candidates for membership to the Central Committee;

F. With the exception of decisions on the replacement of members of the Central Committee and the election of new candidates for membership to the Central Committee, which do not require confirmation by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), decisions of the All-Union Conference are subject to the approval of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.). Decisions of the All-Union Conference approved by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) are binding on all Party organizations;

G. Members of the Central Committee, if they are not delegates by mandate from local organizations, participate in the work of the All-Union Conference with voice but no vote.

V. ON PARTY STANDING FOR SECRETARIES OF PROVINCE COMMITTEES, CITY COMMITTEES, DISTRICT COMMITTEES AND CHIEFS OF POLITICAL DEPARTMENTS OF THE RED ARMY AND NAVY

17. With the object of creating necessary conditions for promoting new cadres of Party workers to leading Party work, to establish, in place of the corresponding paragraph of the rules, for secretaries of province committees, territory committees and central committees of national Communist Parties, a Party standing of not less than five years instead of twelve years; for secretaries of city committees, not less than three years, instead of ten; for secretaries of district committees, not less than three years, instead of seven, and for secretaries of the primary Party organizations and shop Party organizers, not less than one year, instead of not less than

three years in the first case and not less than two years in the second case.

Chiefs of political administrations of military districts, fleets and armies have to have a five-year Party standing, instead of ten and heads of political departments of divisions and brigades a three-year Party standing, instead of six.

VI. ON THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF TERRITORIES, PROVINCES AND REPUBLICS

18. To establish that province committees, territory committees and central committees of national Communist Parties are to have four or five secretaries, including a first secretary, a second secretary, a cadres secretary and a propaganda secretary.

VII. ON THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

19. To give regional Party organizations statutory rights, supplementing the rules of the C.P.S.U.(B) with an appropriate statute.

VIII. ON THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE RED ARMY AND NAVY

20. In connection with the establishment of the People's Commissariat of the Navy, to extend the statute on the Party organizations in the Red Army to the Party organizations in the Navy, establishing that the Political Administration of the Navy enjoy the rights of a Naval Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

IX. ON THE PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

21. For enhancing the role of primary Party organizations of industrial enterprises, including state farms and collective farms, and their responsibility for the work of the enterprises, to grant these organizations the right of controlling the work of the administrations of the enterprises.

Party organizations of people's commissariats, which, by virtue of the special conditions of work of Soviet institutions, cannot exercise the functions of control, are duty bound to signalize shortcomings in the work of institutions and to note defects in the work of the people's commissariats and its individual officials and send their material and conclusions to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and to the heads of the people's commissariat.

Secretaries of the Party organizations of people's commissariats are confirmed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

All Communists working in the central apparatus of a people's commissariat belong to one general Party organization of the people's commissariat.

22. In amendment of existing statutes to name hereafter elected bodies of primary Party organizations not committees but bureaus (bureau of such and such Party organization).

23. Bureaus of primary Party organizations are to be formed in Party organizations numbering not less than 15 Party members.

24. With the object of rapidly rearing and educating Party members in the spirit of collective leadership, to grant shop Party organizations numbering not less than 15 but not more than 100 Party members the right to elect a bureau of the shop Party organization consisting of from three to five persons and those numbering more than 100 Party members, from five to seven persons.

Chronicle of Events

DALADIER AND CHAMBERLAIN SURRENDER SPAIN TO THE AGGRESSORS

THE reactionary and vicious policy of the ruling clique in France and Great Britain towards Spain has reached its climax. Not satisfied with the effects of their so-called non-intervention policy, which was intended to throttle the Spanish republic, they threw off the hypocritical mask of "neutrality" in favor of open intervention on behalf of Franco. British warships gave the insurgents the means of occupying Minorca; the French and British government press indulged in cynical admonitions to Negrin and Azana to tread the path of capitulation; the French authorities are subjecting the refugees from Catalonia to the most monstrous hardships, leaving them to rot in the cold and dirt, attempting to weaken them by hunger and misery in order to drive them into the clutches of the butcher Franco.

The gold reserves deposited in France, which were illegally withheld from the Spanish Republic, have been placed at Franco's disposal; British government circles are hinting at loans. The governments of Great Britain and France, which have contributed liberally to bringing on the danger which a Spain ruled by Franco, in fact by Italy and Germany, would constitute to the national interests of France and Great Britain, tried by every sort of device to bring Franco under their domination, in order to guarantee for the capitalist groups which back them the possibility of participating in exploiting the Spanish people and its natural resources.

Certain clever people in France and Great Britain had already thought out a solution to suit their own aims, namely, the reintroduction of the monarchy in Spain. Franco answered this by appointing his own Prime Minister, thereby indicating that he is retaining for himself the role of king-substitute or "Fuehrer" by grace of Mussolini and Hitler.

Bonnet sent his emissary to Franco Spain for the purpose of making known the French proposals in an interview with Franco. He was not even received by Franco. Subordinate officials of the Franco government informed him what the axis powers expect of France. And once again Franco had his instructions from Italy and Germany. Mussolini forbade Franco to conduct closer negotiations with Great Britain and France, and laid down that the recognition of Franco by Great Britain and France must be given unconditionally.

Apart from that he directed that a considerable body of troops must remain on the French frontier, to be ready to meet all eventualities. The Italian and German press announced with cynical candor that the real masters of Franco Spain will stay in Spain as long as they please.

In spite of all these futile attempts to isolate Franco from his fascist commanders, in spite of the repeated threats of Italy and Germany toward France and Great Britain, the governments of both these countries crowned their capitulation to fascism by recognizing Franco.

The prelude to the final recognition was a grotesque maneuver. In France the news was spread about that Chamberlain had already decided upon recognition, the while Chamberlain was declaring that he would immediately grant recognition, once France had done so. In this way each tried to push the other forward, in order not to have to take the

chief blame from "his" people. By the unconditional recognition of Franco the governments of Great Britain and France have taken a further big stride in the retreat before the fascist aggressors.

Italy is sending fresh divisions to Libya, and Germany is undertaking in feverish haste a fresh mobilization of her reserves—exactly as before Munich. The governments of France and Great Britain, which have betrayed the incomparably heroic fight of the Spanish people and the Spanish Republic, are themselves contributing to bring their own countries into discredit in the forthcoming serious conflicts with Hitler and Mussolini. The Western powers can only resist the threatening onslaught of the fascist robbers and murderers if the democratically-minded common people are convinced that in defending their country they are also defending their most cherished national and democratic interests, their liberties and future aspirations. Successful resistance to the agressors entails the preservation of democratic principles; the purer and cleaner the flag of democracy is kept, the more sturdily will the mass of people rally round it to defend civilization. The betrayal of Spain means not simply the handing over of important strategic positions to the aggressors, but threatens to undermine the moral stability of democracy itself.

* * *

BONNET CONSPIRES WITH HITLER AND MUSSOLINI

The Spanish policy of the present British and French governments is only to be explained by assuming that, at the instigation of finance-capitalist circles, they aim at striking a bargain with Hitler and Mussolini at the cost of considerable losses of territory and the stifling of democracy in Western Europe. Bonnet sends emissaries of capitulation not to Franco alone, but likewise to Hitler and Mussolini. He lets his agents negotiate not only on questions of foreign policy, but also on issues of French home policy. For Gabriel Peri has disclosed, in *l'Humanité*, that Bonnet's middleman, de Brinon, in an interview with Ribbentrop, put forward measures for neutralizing France—chiefly the suppression of the Communist Party, the restriction of the right of assembly and the curtailment of the powers of the French Parliament.

In the course of promoting fascism in their own countries, the finance capitalists of Western Europe desire to build up a sort of international exploitation enterprise; those deluded pacifists and false friends of peace who, consciously or unconsciously, give their services as accomplices in this game of the finance oligarchy, will not save peace, but will encourage the most frightful chaos. Indeed, Hitler's chief medicine man, Alfred Rosenberg, has bluntly declared as much in Berlin to accredited diplomats. This gentleman declared word for word:

"Nevertheless, we National-Socialists have never been so utopian in outlook as not to see that even after the extermination of Bolshevism and Jewry, very real conflicts of interest between the various peoples and races on the earth are still possible, nay, probable. . . . In view of this it would be highly illogical . . . if the German National-Socialist government were to come into political conflict with a government also describing itself as National-Socialist, of another state. To the world at large it would then seem as though the idea of universal National-Socialism had suffered an ideological blow, since such a conflict would be said to offer proof that National-Socialism would not be strong enough to guarantee the peace of Europe."

On this account Herr Rosenberg recommends the reactionary circles and conspirators of other countries not to give any fascist movement, that they may initiate, the description National-Socialist. That is the answer to those credulous pacifists and capitulators who think they can save peace by lying down under the jackboots of Nazi rule. As Rosenberg himself affirms, the Nazis simply cannot imagine a truly lasting peace

between the peoples. Their world is that of the jungle, in which the peoples are subject to an eternal process of devouring and being devoured.

* * *

MINORCA AND HAINAN—THE CONNECTIONS

At the very moment when British ships of war were helping General Franco to a cheap "victory" on the Island of Minorca, there took place at the opposite end of the world a new act of aggression by the Japanese partner of the Anti-Comintern bloc. Breaking the obligations they had assumed, the Japanese occupied Hainan Island, which points like the muzzle of a revolver at the French possessions in Eastern Asia, at the Dutch East Indies and the British Indies, and the trade routes of France, Britain and America.

To the feeble protests of the Western powers the Japanese government gave an assurance, just as at the time of the occupation of Manchuria and North China, that the occupation is only to meet temporary military needs. Yet the Japanese press had already been telling tales out of school. It spoke openly of future plans against the French possessions, against Hongkong and the Dutch East Indies. Now that the Japanese militarists have had a taste of the military power of the Soviet Union at Laka Khasan, and that their armies in the interior of China have come to a full stop and are getting no nearer their goal, it would appear that those circles in Japan which have always favored a policy of expansion to the south are gaining the upper hand. The Japanese imperialists are already intimating to Holland that the time has come for negotiations for the "sale" of parts of the Dutch East Indies to Japan. The parallel between Minorca and Hainan shows once more that the aggressors in the West and in the East are proceeding according to a common plan, one coup bringing another in its wake. The capitulator's role adopted by Great Britain and France in the Spanish civil war, clearly exemplified in the outrage at Minorca, encouraged the Japanese militarists for their part to swallow up another tidbit at the expense of these states.

* * *

THE POSITION OF THE U.S.A. AND THE FASCIST AGGRESSORS

Since the capitulation of Munich, growing numbers of the American people have become aware of the dangers which threaten them, too, from the side of the fascist aggressors. Never has public opinion in America been so preoccupied with questions of American foreign policy.

In addition to the European crisis, the situation in the Far East has contributed largely to the growing uneasiness shown by the American people about the offensive of the aggressors. Certain circles in the United States which had hitherto favored neutrality toward Japan now point out that the occupation of Hainan Island menaces American sea communications with important sources of raw materials to the U.S.A. in the East Indies.

The American people are also disturbed at the possible repercussions a victory for Franco might have on the situation in South America. This uneasiness is fed by statements in the Nazi press to the effect that a Franco-ruled Spain would exercise a decisive influence on the situation in South America. After the pan-American Lima Conference, the Nazis announced triumphantly that it had been a fiasco. Yet as it is turning out, the most important South American states are already carrying the ideas of Lima into effect.

An example of this are the negotiations between Brazil and the United States for the joint defense of the Western Hemisphere against aggression, and the intensified efforts of the U.S.A., by financial and economic support, to place the South American states in a position to offer resistance to the blackmailing trading practices of Nazi Germany. The movement against economic

subjection to Nazi Germany is also growing in Chile, where the People's Front parties are demanding a revision of the present policy with regard to trade with Nazi Germany.

In Mexico the Cardenas government is trying by means of a friendly understanding with the Roosevelt government on the question of the oil fields to render the barter trade with Germany superfluous. However, the reactionary circles grouped around Standard Oil are here again making a stand against a real understanding with the Mexican people, and are thus giving support to the efforts of the Nazis to make Mexico economically dependent on Germany.

BONNET ORGANIZES THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE C.G.T.

We have already referred above to the sensational disclosures by which M. Bonnet, through his emissary, let Hitler know that he is working actively to introduce fascism step by step in France. Bonnet and the reactionary groups around him know only too well that the policy of capitulation, the surrender of important French national interests, has little chance as long as the People's Front idea is kept alive in France, and especially as long as the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) exists.

The repressive acts which followed the general strike failed in their object. The C.G.T. remains, as before, the great bulwark against internal and external reaction. Comrade Franchon has now revealed in *l'Humanité* that the group round M. Bonnet is now exerting every effort to engineer and support a fight inside the C.G.T. and its disruption from within. The reactionary press is conducting a campaign for the professed independence of the trade unions, *i.e.*, against the Socialist and the Communist officials in the C.G.T. Willing assistance is rendered them by certain reactionary trade union leaders who support the foreign policy of M. Bonnet and, as the other side to the medal, would like to instigate a struggle inside the C.G.T. as a result of which they might be able to make the C.G.T. dependent upon the Daladier government and the employers.

* * *

SPAAK FALLS

The defeat of the Spaak government in Belgium is a warning and an example that an unprincipled policy, which frequently operates to the advantage of reaction at home and abroad, can only lead to bewilderment and confusion in the ranks of the labor movement—with which, in this instance, the Belgian Labor Party also got infected. The ostensible occasion of the fall of the Spaak government was the appointment to the Academy of the Flemish Martens, who had served in the German army of occupation during the war.

Certain reactionary Flemish groups, which are under the influence of Berlin, collaborate with the Degrelle fascists to incite the Flemings against the Walloons. Under these circumstances the appointment of Martens was bound to lead to an internal crisis. This can be traced in the last resort to the fact that Herr Spaak and his government have done nothing to show the Walloon and also the Flemish people of Belgium the real menace to which both sections of the people are exposed. Moreover, the Spaak government has taken no step to give the Flemings true cultural autonomy, which would make it harder for Hitler's agents to exploit for their own sinister purposes the just national demands of the Flemish people. The Communist Party of Belgium has come out emphatically for the just demands both of the Flemings and of the Walloons, the fulfillment of which would provide both peoples with the basis on which to live in peace and freedom together, and jointly to defend the threatened independence of the country.

* * *

BECK'S SYSTEM LOSES THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE

The municipal elections held in Poland in recent weeks show clearly that

the people now at the helm in Poland are losing the support, to a greater and greater extent, even of those sections of the population which formerly followed them. Alongside a big advance of the Polish Socialist Party and of the Peasant Party, there is also an advance of the oppositional fascists.

The government camp had given the impression that it was ready for a reconciliation with the Peasant Party. But it turns out that by such a reconciliation it understands the abandonment of the democratic demands of the mass of Polish peasants. The peasant leader Witos, living in exile, now warns the government against such a maneuver. He accuses government circles of wanting to disrupt and split the peasant movement. Witos points out that such a policy can only work harm to Poland. He points out that the Polish peasants, disappointed and swindled in their hopes, might well be driven to desperation and renew the pressure for their demands by more effective means.

The policy of the present system in Poland is characterized by the disunity which prevails in the country. A genuine policy of the defense of Poland's independence is only realizable if it receives the support of the masses of Poland's workers and peasants. As long as the government makes no move to solicit this support by a democratic policy, it merely encourages the aggressive plans of the Nazis, which may easily cost the Polish people its independence.

CORRECTNESS OF THE PARTY POLICY

"The principal achievements demonstrating the correctness of the policy of our Party and the correctness of its leadership are the firm establishment of the socialist system in the entire national economy, the completion of the reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of a new technique, the fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan in industry ahead of time, the increase of the annual grain harvest to a level of seven billion poods, the abolition of poverty and unemployment, and the raising of the material and cultural standard of the people."—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 39.

PAGES FROM A WORKER'S LIFE

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

A frank and revealing story, this book is packed with amusing, dramatic and instructive sketches of a worker's experiences during half a century.

One of the most interesting sections of the book is "Sailing-Ship Days," a strictly factual but thoroughly absorbing account of the author's days before the mast.

The volume is also full of tales and anecdotes about outstanding personalities like Samuel Gompers and Woodrow Wilson; of encounters with labor spies and company police; of tense moments while hoboing through the West, working on road gangs in the South, participating in strikes and other labor conflicts in every section of the country.

PAGES FROM A WORKER'S LIFE
is the story of a son of the American people

320 Pages $2.00

•

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York, N. Y.

New Books

Ready

The German Ideology

By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

One of the classics of Marxist theory — $2.00

•

New Data for Lenin's "Imperialism"

Complete text of Lenin's "Imperialism" with supplementary material.

Edited by E. Varga and L. Mendelsohn — $1.60

•

Easter Week

By Brian O'Neill

A significant chapter in Irish revolutionary history. — 25c

•

Coming Soon

AGAINST AGGRESSION, by Maxim Litvinov
YOUTH ARSENAL OF FACTS
BRITONS IN SPAIN, by W. Rust

•

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D — New York, N. Y.